

**BRIEF HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES**

ANDREWS

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George Washington, from his first portrait, painted by Charles Willson Peale at Mount Vernon in 1772. Washington was then forty years old, and is represented as a colonel of the colonial troops of Virginia. Washington was tall and strong; and, at the opening of the Revolution, three years later, he was in the prime of life. The original portrait is now at Washington and Lee University.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

BY
MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS, M.A.

151 ILLUSTRATIONS AND 25 BLACK-AND-WHITE MAPS IN THE TEXT, ALSO FRONTIS-PIECE AND TWO MAPS IN FULL COLOR



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The Washington Square Press, Philadelphia, U. S. A.*

TO THE MEMORY OF MY MOTHER
WHO GUIDED MY FIRST STEPS IN
THE READING OF HISTORY

2923

PUBLISHERS' FOREWORD

IF special merits be found in this volume, they are derived directly from the author's experience in *secondary school* work, and from his knowledge of the problems of both teacher and pupil. The author never for one moment lost sight of his readers. In providing for their special needs he has written and rewritten each part with the earnest purpose of making the subject clear to the average pupil and of enlisting the child's genuine interest in the history of the United States.

Mr. Andrews' enthusiasm for the subject of history and his originality and clearness in presenting it secured for him the hearty coöperation not only of a number of secondary school teachers, but also of many noted historians and of English scholars, who offered the benefit of their suggestions and the encouragement of their approval.

The attention which the author has given to expression and style; his appreciation of the "element of human interest"; his courage in throwing out of the main body of the narrative "stock" but non-essential matter; his recognition of the prime value of the story element and of the importance of introducing, not obtrusively or abstrusely, but attractively, clear-cut ideas of manners and customs—all these have contributed in producing a volume agreeable to read and easy to teach.

BY WAY OF EXPLANATION

EVERY writer of history who has any ambition to please his readers meets in every chapter problems which would bring despair to the novelist. The latter adapts his narrative and limits his characters and scenes to suit his plot. In other words, he leads his story. The historian, on the other hand, has no choice in these things. His story leads him. Nevertheless, even though the first and greatest allegiance of the historian is to the recital of facts, he may profitably exercise every art of the rhetorician and the novelist in order to approximate, at least, the latter's primary advantage of position. The author of a school history may gather and present all the essential facts, and yet he may be far from securing an arrangement of these facts which offers the greatest possible adherence to continuity, a basic law of composition.

It is easy to ask for an American history adapted to the needs of the child; but it is not possible to prepare such a history unless we are willing to revise and rewrite a score of times, perhaps, that which we know is good English for ordinary purposes, in order to express it in English carefully adapted to an extraordinary purpose. Such an extraordinary purpose is the preparation of a narrative of limited extent which must cover several hundred years of the growth of a great people, hundreds of individual characters, explanations of political divisions and

sectional disputes, and descriptions of customs in various epochs; not only is all this undertaken in a school history of the United States, but its expression should be such as to be readily understood by a child, and the entire subject should be presented in a manner to enlist his interest.

The investigations of specialists working upon different phases of United States history have, in the past few years, amazingly modified previous interpretations. For a long time, intelligent readers have been amused at the conception of Washington presented by Parson Weems, a conception which was once widely taught and accepted as faithful biography; yet it is not an exaggeration to say that some of the biographies and historical interpretations which appeared even as recently as twenty or ten years ago are now also regarded as misleading, although much less so, perhaps, than the Weems estimate of Washington. A new sense of national perspective is revealed to us in recent publications concerning Southern and Western States which have hitherto failed to give their records well-merited attention. A school history, especially, should reckon with this advance in thought and interpretation, and free itself from the taint of sectional misconception.

In historical narrative the absence of interest is not infrequently due to the presence of discursive material; on the other hand, the proper subordination of this discursive matter as frequently enhances the interest of the subject. It is true that such a

process of selection imposes a tenfold burden upon the author; but it shortens the book, reduces its cost, encourages the pupil, and helps the teacher, immensely improving the latter's chances of becoming an object of interest to the class. This volume is based on class-room experience, and it is offered by a secondary school teacher to other teachers in the belief that it will help his fellow-workers to make the subject of United States history attractive to the young Americans who must look to them for guidance in exploring the past and for training with a view to future citizenship.

The author is indebted to those historians who have made suggestions or criticisms within the fields of American history wherein they have specialized. He is also grateful to experienced teachers and to critics of English style who have helped to make expression clearer and the diction as simple and direct as possible. For able, constructive criticism and painstaking proofreading, the author is especially indebted to Dr. Allen Kerr Bond, Mr. Alexander L. Tinsley, and Mr. Henry Fletcher Powell. Others who have read the manuscript, either wholly or in part, are Mr. Gamaliel Bradford, Dr. Henry E. Shepherd, Mr. William Leigh, Jr., Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Mr. J. E. Dandridge Murdaugh, Mr. James E. Hancock, Dr. Francis Trevelyan Miller, officials of departments of the United States Government at Washington, and members of State Historical Societies, with whom the author was in correspondence during the preparation of this work.

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BRIEF HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD

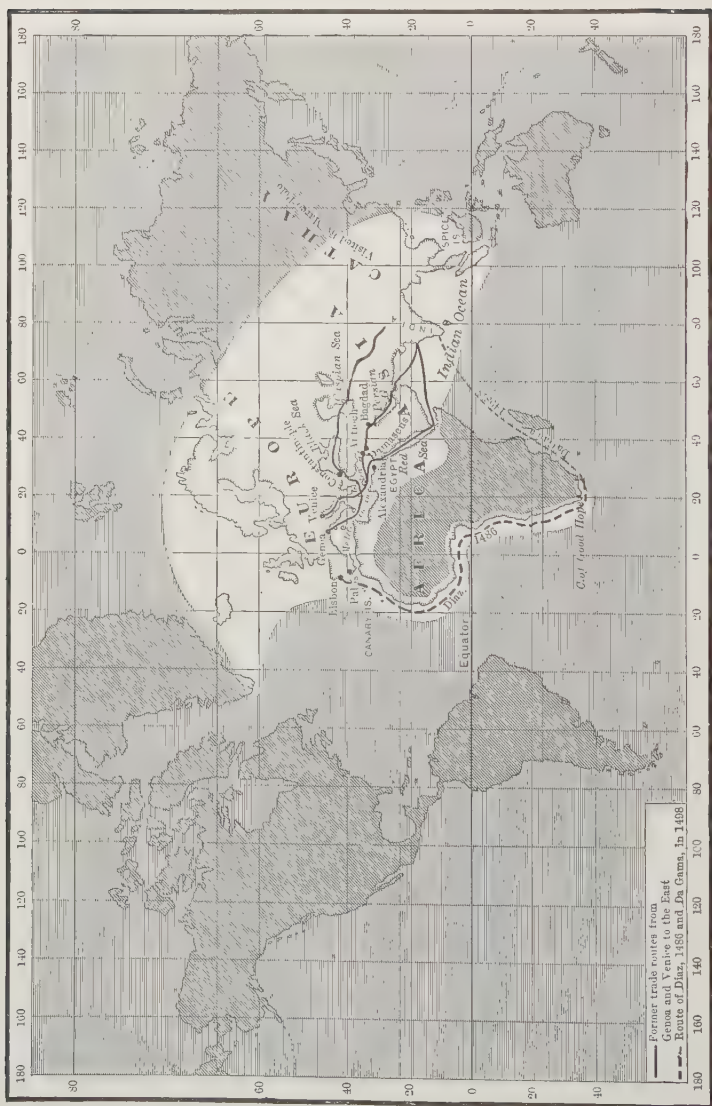
ALTHOUGH there were people living on the Western Hemisphere long before its discovery by Europeans, we think of American history as having its source in Europe, because the Old World nations developed the New and made it what it is to-day.

At the time of the discovery of the New World, the people of Europe were making great progress in learning and industry and art; but the wisest men among them were ignorant of some of the things all of us now know. What they knew, for instance, of the extent of the world is shown in the white portion of the map on page 2. Nearly every one believed that the earth was flat and that the sky rested on its edges like an overturned bowl.

Ancient
ideas of the
world

There were a few men, however, at this time who felt sure that the earth could not be flat. Some, like Paul Toscanelli, an Italian geographer, drew charts or maps to show that the earth is round. These charts were carefully studied by thoughtful sailors and navigators, like Christopher Columbus and John Cabot, who became convinced that they were living on a globe and that

Views of
Toscanelli,
Columbus,
Cabot



MAP OF THE WORLD

The white portion shows that part of the world known to Europeans before the discovery of America. The lines from Venice and Genoa to the East show the trade routes rendered unsafe by the Turks.

if they were given the chance they could prove it by sailing around the world.¹

In medieval times, the dangers and difficulties of



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Memorial to Christopher Columbus, Washington, D. C. Erected in 1912 by The Knights of Columbus. Designed by an American sculptor, Lorado Taft.

navigation in unknown seas were so great that men needed strong motives to lead them to risk their lives

¹It is well to recall that *Cristoforo Colombo* and *Giovanni Caboto* are the names by which Columbus and Cabot were known in Genoa (see map), where they were born about the time of the capture of Constantinople (1453). We are not sure of the exact date of the birth of Columbus. Cabot was at one time a citizen of Venice, but it seems clear that he was born at or near Genoa.

and fortunes in such enterprises. These motives lay chiefly in the desire to secure new routes to carry on a profitable trade with India and other countries of the East; for the old trade routes to the East (see map) had been cut off or rendered unsafe by the in-

**Necessity for
new trade
routes to the
East**

roads of the Turks, who had over-run Asia Minor and, in 1453, had even captured Constantinople. These old routes by land and sea had been controlled by Venice and Genoa; but, under new conditions, both cities, as well as the rest of Europe, faced the necessity of giving up the Eastern trade or finding other ways of reaching India.

While the little group of thinkers which included Toscanelli, Columbus, and Cabot were working out their theory that the earth is a sphere and that India could, therefore, be reached *by sailing in the opposite direction*, Dias, a Portuguese sailor serving Prince

**Portuguese
sail around
Africa.**

Henry the Navigator, braved the terrors of the African coast and rounded the southern end, now called the Cape of Good Hope. Although Dias made this voyage in 1486 and showed a new way to India, the route was very long and dangerous. Moreover, the entire distance to India was not covered even by the Portuguese until the voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1498.

Upon learning of the voyage of Dias, Columbus set to work with even greater energy to convince others that India could be reached by sailing westward. About 1473, he had moved to Lisbon and married the daughter of a Portuguese sailor. He diligently studied the log-book of his father-in-law

and listened eagerly to the accounts of navigators who had sailed farthest to the west and had found floating bits of wood and other things

*Trials of
Columbus.*

which seemed to show that land lay beyond.² The more he studied the more he believed in his theory. When, however, he tried to convince others, he was laughed at by men who asked him how people on the other side of the world could live with their heads always downward. Moreover, he risked imprisonment and death in expressing his beliefs; for, at this time, a great many people thought the founders of the Christian Church and the Bible itself taught that the earth is flat and hence that it was wrong to teach or believe otherwise.



This picture, taken from an old print, was designed to represent an incident in the "Sea of Darkness" at the western edge of the world. It was believed that great sea serpents were able to reach up and catch sailors high in the rigging of the ship! It is no wonder, therefore, that Columbus had trouble in getting men to go on his first voyage.

After many years, during which he suffered innumerable trials and rebuffs, and after he had endeavored, as we are told, to procure help from Genoa, Portugal, France and England, Columbus was at last

² Columbus was himself a cartographer, or map-drawer. We are told that at school he was especially good at arithmetic and map-drawing. We may imagine how many maps he later drew of what he knew in the Old World and what he thought might be in the unknown West. His ideas, however, as well as those of Toscanelli, led him to imagine that the earth was about one-third smaller than it is; so that he did not make any reckoning for the stretch of new continents and for the Pacific Ocean.

successful in getting a hearing before King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain. Especially was Isabella impressed with his story, and in 1492 she gave authority and aid to Columbus

First voyage
of Columbus



THE SHIPS OF COLUMBUS

The *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Nina*. The largest of these was Columbus' flagship, of less than 200 tons burden.

to procure the vessels and crews necessary for the voyage. Sailors, however, fled from him in terror for fear of being impressed, and even the jails were called upon to complete his crew. The expedition was at last equipped, and Columbus set sail from the harbor of Palos, August 3, 1492, with three small vessels and about one hundred men. After stopping at the Canary Islands to

make some necessary repairs to one of the vessels, he set out upon the unexplored expanse of western waters in search of *India*. Weeks passed without signs of land. The hitherto unchangeable needle of the mariner's compass became "sluggish" and variable, the ships were becalmed, and for days all seemed about to be engulfed in the floating weeds of the great "Sargasso Sea." It is small wonder that the frightened and ignorant sailors were inclined to mutiny,

but the faith and determination of Columbus seemed never to waver, although in mid-ocean he was persuaded to alter his course from due west and north-west more to the southward to follow the flight of some passing birds. (See map, p. 10.)

Early in the morning of October 12, 1492, the little fleet came in sight of land now believed to be Watling Island, called by Columbus San Salvador. Here Columbus landed and, in the name of the King and Queen of Spain, claimed possession with ceremony and thanksgiving befitting the triumphant outcome of one of the greatest achievements of history.

Although the simple, wondering natives of the island were unlike any people of whom ^{Discovery of land} he had ever heard, Columbus called them Indians, because he thought they were inhabitants of the (East) Indies, and this is the name by which we have ever since known the natives of the Western Hemisphere. Lured by stories of wealth and neighboring lands, Columbus sailed from San Salvador for the coasts of Cuba and Hayti. On the latter island he built a fort and left some fifty men, the first colony of a European nation in the New World. He took on board a number of the Indians, and having got together a great display of birds, plants, and native gold ornaments, returned to Spain in the following spring, where the once despised adventurer was accorded the highest honors of the kingdom.

It was now easy to get ships and men for further exploration, so that before the end of the year Columbus again set out for the Indies with a far greater force under his command. At Hayti, he

learned that the Spanish colonists had repaid the kindness of the Indians there with cruel treatment, so that the natives had killed them and had laid their forts in ruins.

Other
voyages;
beginning of
Spanish
colonization

Now followed a long and weary search for mines of precious metal,—a search that met with little success; and the Spaniards, both those with the expedition and those at home, began to complain bitterly that the discoveries were not worth the price they had paid for them. Consequently, Columbus returned to Spain some years later in disfavor. In all, from 1492 to 1504, the great discoverer made four voyages, the last two resulting in the exploration of parts of the coast of Central and South America. He did not, however, touch the shores of the northern continent, and died without knowing he had found a new world, but believing that he had reached the Indies and the coast of Asia. Nor was the new-found country named in honor of its discoverer; but it was called *America*, after Amerigo Vespucci, an Italian navigator who had written letters describing the coastline and character of the western lands.³

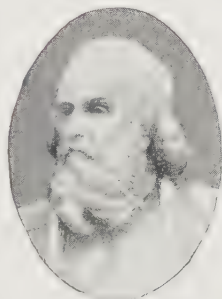
Naming of
the New
World

During this time John Cabot had been living in England, and the news of the first voyage of Columbus reached him there. He now proposed to Henry VII that he should, in the name of

³ The original letters have been lost, and only more or less accurate copies have been preserved. These had wide circulation in Europe and were read at St. Dié, in northeastern France, by a teacher of geography named Martin Waldseemüller, who first published the name which came to be applied to the whole of the two continents.

England, make explorations in search of a route to India and other Oriental countries. Apparently, he was not successful in this effort until it became plain that the treaties which were being arranged between Spain and Portugal with the sanction of the Pope were intended to exclude every other nation from a share in the trade and colonization of the newly discovered lands.⁴ The line of boundary set between Spain and Portugal ran from north to south, not far from the middle of the Atlantic Ocean; all lands to the east of this line were to belong to Portugal, while those to the west were to become the possession of Spain. Henry VII now saw the necessity of acting in the interest of England and gave authority to Cabot and his three sons to sail "to all countries and seas of the East and of the West and of the North under our banners and ensigns." In May, 1497, Cabot, in command of a single small vessel, set out from Bristol. After a comparatively brief voyage, he came in sight of land on the coast of what is now Labrador. Here he went on shore, and by this act became the first representative of European nations to set foot upon the coast of *North America*; and his discovery of this continent is of special importance

Cabot discovers Continent of North America, 1497



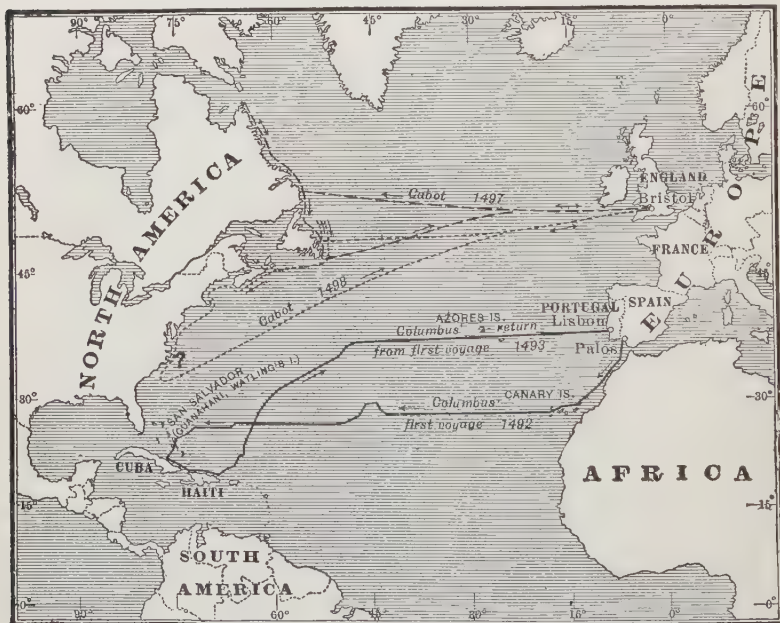
Avery's History

JOHN CABOT

John Cabot, who discovered the Continent of North America in 1497. In defiance of the claims of Spain and Portugal, he laid the foundation for the settlement of the English Colonies in the New World.

⁴ The teacher may here explain the temporal power of the Popes in medieval times.

because it gave England a definite claim to territory in the New World, and set the minds of Englishmen upon making homes there. This led eventually to the establishment of those thirteen colonies which became, in less than three hundred years, the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



Map showing the first voyage of Christopher Columbus and the first and second voyages of John Cabot. The "?" at the southernmost point of Cabot's second voyage shows that we do not know the exact extent of that voyage.

POINTS OF INTEREST; SUGGESTIONS FOR READING OR DISCUSSION ⁵

Some of the boys and girls who have read this first chapter have also read stories of Leif Ericson and the Norsemen and

⁵ It is not intended that these notes should be in the least exhaustive. They are chiefly intended to arouse thought and interest,—to indicate that outside of the text there is so much in history which is profitable to know and attractive to look up.

their discovery of America. It is interesting to know about this earlier exploration of our continent, but it is not connected with the real story of settlement. The Norsemen came over to this continent from Iceland in the year 1000 A.D. **Leif Ericson, 1000 A.D** The stories of their exploration and temporary settlement were told by word of mouth from father to son until written down in "sagas," or stories, hundreds of years later. Every boy and girl should read Longfellow's "The Skeleton in Armor," which brings to mind the romantic stories of Norse adventure. Reference may be made to extended histories of the United States, such as Avery's; and special material may be found in *American History Leaflets, Old South Leaflets*, No. 31, etc.

In the reading of history, frequent reference to maps is a matter of very great importance. On the map of the world as first known to Columbus and Cabot (page 2), we find the name of MARCO POLO. A wide-awake American boy or girl is likely to wonder at once *who* Polo was, *where* he lived, and *when*. Marco Polo was born in Venice about 200 years before Columbus. Before he was 21 his father took him on a trading expedition to China (Cathay). He entered the service of **Map study; Marco Polo** the Great Khan, or Emperor, and did not return for many years. On the way back, he traveled through Eastern countries and he has left us a very interesting narrative which he dictated while he was a prisoner of war in the city of Genoa. His book has in it almost as much fable as history; but it doubtless served to stir the imagination of many explorers to the time of Columbus and Cabot and for some years later.

Look at the map on page 10 and find out where Columbus would have landed, if he had sailed due west from Palos instead of going first to the Canary Islands and directing his course from there.

Four hundred years after Columbus set sail from Palos, a vessel modeled after his flagship, the *Santa Maria*, sailed from the same port to the Columbian Exposition, or World's Fair, at Chicago, which commemorated the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the New World. Six years later the United States was the means, through freeing Cuba, of taking from Spain the last colony left to her of all her once vast possessions in the Western Hemisphere. The teacher will find additional **The second Santa Maria, and the last colony of Spain in the New World** material on the life and times of Columbus in Prescott, Irving, Baneroff, Winsor, and other volumes less easily available, such as those by Harisse, Thacher, Vignaud.

When Columbus was being derided for not at once bringing back great riches from the new country, some called him "Admiral of Mosquito Land," showing that the Spaniards had become acquainted with the mosquito and the immediate discomfort caused by its bite. The Spaniards did not know, however, that the bite of some of these "little flies" of tropical America often brought on fever and death. This was found out by United States Army surgeons after the war with Spain in 1898. These brave physicians, believing that the mosquito carried the dread disease, yielded themselves to the bite of insects known to have been with yellow fever victims. Their discoveries, which cost them their health and at last life itself, led to organized effort to destroy the mosquito in Cuba and other tropical countries. Where the mosquito has been exterminated, yellow fever has been stamped out, and thousands of lives have been saved that must have otherwise been lost. It may not be too much to state that the Panama Canal could not have been completed but for this discovery by American heroes.

**"Admiral of
Mosquito
Land";
yellow fever**

To the pupil: Why not ask your English teacher to let you choose for some of your compositions descriptions and stories connected with American history? These may be based on what you think might have happened on any of the voyages of exploration; or what happened to "lost" colonies; or on Indian life, etc. The writing of American history has wonderfully improved in recent years. Perhaps if you start early and write carefully you may write books as much better than the ones you now read as the latter are better than those written a hundred years ago!

To the teacher: The chapter on the American Indian is put in the appendix to be studied when it is thought advisable.

DATES, FOR READY REFERENCE

- A.D. 1000: Leif Ericson and the discovery of "Vinland."
- A.D. 1450: Approximate date of first printing giving easy access to stories of travel.
- A.D. 1453: Capture of Constantinople by the Turks forcing search for new trade routes to the East.
- A.D. 1486-'87: Dias rounds Cape of Good Hope.
- A.D. 1492: Columbus discovers the New World.
- A.D. 1497: Cabot discovers the continent of North America.
- 1492-1503: Pope Alexander VI.
- 1479-1516: Ferdinand and Isabella (Spain).
- 1485-1509: Henry VII (England).

CHAPTER II

EXPLORATION AND FIRST SETTLEMENT

IN 1497, when John Cabot returned to England from his first voyage to America, King Henry VII gave £10 to "him that found the new Isle." Later, he received other rewards for his discovery, and he became known in England as "the great Admiral." Like Columbus, he prepared at once for a second voyage, which he undertook in the succeeding year (1498). This time he followed the coast of North America southward, possibly for several hundred miles. He thus further

Cabot's
second
voyage, 1498

ELIZABETH I (Regina)

Signature of Queen Elizabeth. She died in 1603, and did not live to see successful English settlement in America.

strengthened the claim of England to a share in the future colonization of the New World. As we shall see, however, settlement was not to begin for a hundred years, or during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.

While the North American continent appeared to Europeans as an uninteresting wilderness inhabited

by barbarous tribes, the Spaniards found, in Central and South America, nations that were semi-civilized, with mines of gold and silver. They overcame the natives, forced them to work in the mines, and amassed a wealth of precious metal which they took back to Spain in great ship loads. All this was done with the greatest cruelty and injustice to the often unoffending inhabitants. Yet, with this cruelty and wrong on the part of the conquerors, there were coupled deeds of the greatest daring and sacrifice, so that the stories of Spanish explorations and conquests are most interesting. It is fascinating to read the story of Balboa, who, in 1513, first saw from the Isthmus of Panama the ocean separating America from the Orient; and that of Magellan, who, in 1519, passed through the straits that bear his name; called the ocean beyond, the Pacific; and began the voyage which led for the first time around the world.¹ Whether we read much or little about these explorers, it is important for us to realize that in the hundred years and more between the discovery of North America by the English and the first successful colonization at Jamestown, the Spanish and the Portuguese were securing for themselves the whole of Central and South America. The great stores of gold and silver which they were carrying back to Europe excited the envy of other nations, including the English; and, although the countries

¹ Reference to these and other explorers is made at the end of this chapter, and their achievements may be studied or discussed independently of the text.

were not openly at war, Englishmen did not hesitate to attack and rob the Spanish treasure vessels, the Spaniards attacking, in turn, when they had a favorable opportunity.

While these things were happening in southern waters and in South America, exploring parties and fishing and trading vessels were sent out to the shores of North America from England, France, and the Netherlands. Not infrequently the crews of these rival nations would engage in combat when they met in the New World.² French explorations under Cartier led to the settlement of Canada and for a long time gave the English colonies a troublesome neighbor on the north. On the other hand, the Spanish explorations of De Soto, Ponce de Leon, and others led to the settlement of Florida, which began in 1565 at St. Augustine, and which proved a thorn in the side of the English settlements in the South. The Dutch established trading posts and settlements in the present State of New York, but they were soon absorbed by the English; so that the story of the beginnings of our country leads us directly to the first attempts at settlement by the English, who, by 1733, had established thirteen colonies extending from the St. Lawrence to Florida.

French,
Spanish, and
Dutch in
North
America

² One French narrator tells us that on one occasion when most of his party had gone on shore, leaving him in charge of the ship, an English vessel hove in sight and prepared at once for an attack. The Frenchman had one large gun on deck and this he fired as promptly as possible. There was no damage done, however, because, the Frenchman regretfully adds, in the excitement of the moment, he had "forgotten to aim the piece."

Attempts at settlement by the English began in the reign of the great Queen Elizabeth and followed close upon the voyages of Davis, Frobisher, Gilbert, and Sir Francis Drake. The first two have given their names to bodies of water found by them in their search for a northwest passage to India; while Sir Francis Drake was the

Drake on the
Pacific
Coast



SIR WALTER RALEIGH

Patron of English colonization in America; spent much of his fortune in attempting settlement; engaged in numerous expeditions against the Spaniards; a favorite of Elizabeth, but in disfavor with James I, who imprisoned him in the Tower for thirteen years; during his imprisonment he wrote a "History of the World"; executed in 1618.

first Englishman to go around the world. This he accomplished in 1577-'80. He plundered Spanish towns and ships on the Pacific coast of South America and sailed along the western coast of North America, hoping to find a body of water leading east to the Atlantic.

Walter Raleigh secured from Queen Elizabeth a charter to explore the coast of North America and *to make settlement there*. That he should have earnestly sought the right to establish a settlement is especially important as showing the faith and foresight of Raleigh; for as yet

no vessels had brought back from North America riches in gold and silver; and Europeans began to think that, in comparison with South America, the North American wilderness was of little value. Raleigh, however, had visions of English colonies to the West, as Columbus had visions of Eastern trade

routes. In 1584, he sent out ships to explore the American coast. These landed on Roanoke Island, in what is now North Carolina; and the English spent several weeks there, living on the fruits, fish, and game of the country, besides carrying on trade with the natives.

Raleigh
plans to
"plant an
English
Nation" in
America

The report made by this first expedition was so attractive that Elizabeth named the country Virginia, in honor of herself as the virgin Queen.



A reproduction of one of Governor John White's drawings made on Roanoke Island in 1585. It represents the methods used by the Indians in catching fish by the weir, or fish trap (on the left), and by spearing them. Various kinds of fish, probably unknown to the English, are also shown in the drawing. This is one of the first drawings made by an Englishman in North America, twenty-two years before permanent settlement at Jamestown.

The following year (1585), a settlement was made on the site of the previous landing; but the colonists had trouble with the Indians and returned home some months later with Sir Francis Drake, whose fleet they hailed in passing. In the meantime, a new party had been sent out to reinforce the first one. These found the settlement deserted, but left fifteen men to hold possession, who were surprised by the Indians and driven to sea to be seen no more.

Despite this discouragement, Raleigh sent out another expedition in 1587 which has since been known as "the lost colony." It disappeared while England was engaged in her great struggle with Spain, which reached a climax in the defeat of the "Invincible Armada" (1588). When, therefore, Raleigh could again turn his attention to the settlement of America, it was too late to save the colony. An expedition sent out to succor it found the word

The "lost colony" of Roanoke.

"Croatoan" written upon a post. This may have meant that the settlers had gone to a place of that name where a chief called Manteo and friendly Indians lived. Possibly, they were massacred on the way by hostile Indians lying in ambush. In spite of its unhappy fate, this "lost colony" is of great interest to us. It was here in 1587 that the first child of English parents was born in the New World. She was the granddaughter of John White, the governor of the colony, and her name was Virginia Dare.

From Roanoke the first party of Englishmen took back the potato, which Sir Walter Raleigh planted on his estate in Ireland, and which has since become

a staple article of food throughout the world. Now, we almost wonder how people ever got along without it. Some of the settlers began to imitate the natives in smoking tobacco, which the Roanoke Indians called "uppowoc," and in England the smoking of tobacco soon became very popular.³

The potato;
tobacco

After the failure of Raleigh's colony, there were two attempts at settlement in what we now know as New England. Both of these failed, and the first permanent colony was established near the Chesapeake Bay under the direction of a body of men in England calling themselves the London Company.⁴ James I had succeeded Elizabeth in 1603, and he seemed ever fearful of offending the Spanish, who still claimed North America and had attempted to make settlements north of St. Augustine. The charter which James was finally induced to grant to the London Company

First
permanent
settlement,
Jamestown,
1607

³ Queen Elizabeth tried the tobacco and is said to have pronounced it "a vegetable of singular strength and power." James I, however, called it a detestable "weed" and took the trouble to write a pamphlet denouncing its "vile" fumes.

⁴ Bartholomew Gosnold was in command of the first expedition. He named Cape Cod and returned to England in 1602 with a load of sassafras and lumber. The second was established for one winter at the mouth of the Kennebec River.

To the teacher: Having found that young people often confuse the colony sent out by the *Plymouth Company* in 1606-'07 with the later settlement at Plymouth (New England) under totally different auspices, and that confusion arises also as to the division of land between the London and Plymouth grants, the author has thought it advisable to leave these matters out of the text, the more especially as the Plymouth Company accomplished nothing of importance.

led to the equipment of three vessels, the *Sarah Constant*, the *Goodspeed*, and the *Discovery*. These ships, with about 100 colonists on board, sailed from London just before Christmas, according to the "Old Style" calendar,—New Style, December 30. Going by way of the Canary Islands, the little fleet was four months on the seas; and it was early in May, 1607, when they came in sight of land at the mouth of the



This illustration is designed to show the contrast between the sailing vessels which brought over the first colonists to Jamestown and a passenger steamer of modern times. The *Sarah Constant*, the largest of the three sailing vessels, was of 100 tons burden; the other two were the *Goodspeed* (40 tons) and the *Discovery* (20 tons). The steamer here represented is the *Titanic*, which in April, 1912, struck an iceberg and sank with a loss of over 1500 lives. The *Titanic* was a vessel of 46,000 tons, equal to a fleet of 2000 and more vessels of the size of the tiny *Discovery*, which brought over to Jamestown some of the founders of our first colony.

Chesapeake Bay. Here, on their first landing, they were greeted by a flight of arrows from hostile savages. Beating off the natives, the colonists first held religious services under a wide spreading oak, and made their way up "a great river" which they called the James. Here, on May 24 (N. S.), they began the settlement of Jamestown, the beginning of the first successful English colony in the New World.⁵

⁵ To the teacher: Except for the so-called Columbian dates of departure and discovery, dates are given by the new calendar

It was the most beautiful season of the year. The colonists landed in high spirits and began at once to plant wheat and cut clapboards for shipment to England. Their first letters home described the wonders and beauty of the new country. They wrote of the quantities of fish and oysters in the river and bay, of the magnificent forest, which in some places was so free of undergrowth that a coach and four horses might pass beneath and between the trees, of the wild "turkies," and of flocks of "pidgeons" so numerous when they flew overhead that they darkened the sky. Excepting the fierce hostility of the Indians, everything seemed bright and hopeful. The colonists did not know, however, that their chosen site was full of perils more to be dreaded than hostile savages. The land was low and unhealthy and the settlers drank the brackish water of the James River. On account of these things, malarial fever and other sicknesses seized them. For many of these ills they knew no remedies, and years passed before they learned to adapt themselves to their new conditions.

The new
land as it
appeared to
settlers

Its hidden
perils

In addition to these hardships, the rules of conduct laid down by King James did them great injury. They were commanded to look for a passage to India, to search for mines of gold and silver, and to furnish return cargoes of Virginia products. Furthermore, all were to contribute to and

The
communal
system

instead of by their original reckoning. It would seem as strange to celebrate the discovery of America on October 21, new style, as it would be to celebrate the birthday of George Washington on February 11, old style.

draw equally from a common storehouse; so that the slothful received as much as the industrious. In such cases, experience has proved that the lazy are likely to remain so and the industrious to become discouraged.

Disputes arose in the Council appointed by the King to govern Virginia. These disagreements centred, for the most part, around Captain John Smith, an adventurous Englishman who had seen service in the wars of several continents. Many of our ideas of the Jamestown colony have been obtained Captain John Smith and his narrative from Smith's history of the settlement, which he wrote in England some years later. From these accounts we get an unfavorable impression of Smith's associates and of the management of the men composing the popular or people's party in the London Company. As we now know that this party in the London Company was composed of very able and patriotic Englishmen, we are inclined to think that Captain Smith not only over-rated his achievements, but was very unjust to his fellow-colonists and the Company.⁶

⁶ To the teacher: It is unfortunate that the beginnings of the Jamestown colony should still be shrouded in controversy. There seems little doubt that we can justly give Captain Smith credit for being one of the most daring adventurers of any age and that he was ready to brave any peril. On the other hand, we may well have occasion to doubt his executive ability in some capacities, especially in the management of men and in matters which required steadiness and application. Concerning two opposing views of Smith, one as the only able man of the colony, and the other as its evil genius, both seem to be incorrect and the truth appears to lie between them. Certainly, after reading

Captain Smith was so devoted to adventure that we can imagine with what delight he carried out the king's order to look for gold mines and to explore the various water courses of Virginia to see if any of them led to India and the East. Not only did he explore these rivers and the waters of the Chesapeake, but he drew very good maps of all he saw. On one of these trips he was seized by the Indians and carried before their king, Powhatan. Smith relates that as he was about to be beaten to death, Pocahontas, the twelve-year-old daughter of Powhatan, rushed forward and begged her father to spare his life. Powhatan granted her request and allowed Captain Smith to return to Jamestown in January, 1608. Later, Smith became President of the Council by reason of the

Adventures
of Captain
John Smith

Jo: Smith.

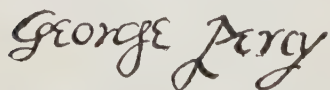
Brown's *The Genesis of the United States*

Signature of Captain John Smith, for a short time a colonist in Virginia, 1607-1609; returned to England in 1609, but was not again employed by the London Company; visited and named New England coast in 1614; published in 1624 a "History of Virginia, the Summer Islands and New England." This signature may be compared with that of George Percy, also of the Jamestown Colony, and with the signatures of some of the Pilgrim Fathers shown.

Smith's own narrative, it is impossible to accept the opinion of Edward Arber, the Oxford editor of Smith's complete works, that the Captain was one of the most modest of men. It seems more reasonable to accept the views of Alexander Brown, who, after years of research in the British archives, published many records previously little known or considered. Brown contends that Captain Smith denounced the Company's management in Virginia and praised the king's plan, in order to aid James I in overthrowing the "dangerous" democracy of that corporation. See Brown: *English Politics in Early Virginia History*; also, especially for reprints of old records, documents, etc., his *The Genesis of the United States*; also, *Captain John Smith's Works*, edited by Edward Arber.

order of succession provided for by the king. More settlers arrived, but large numbers of them died of malarial fever. Smith himself was injured in 1609 by the accidental explosion of a bag of gun-powder and he returned to England. He was not again employed by the London Company, although he afterwards visited the northern coast of the continent and called it *New England*.

Upon the departure of Smith, George Percy succeeded to the Presidency. In the meantime, the first



Brown's The Genesis of the United States.

Signature of George Percy, one of the famous Percy family of the border country between Scotland and England; colonists in Virginia from 1607 to 1612; like John Smith, he was an adventurous character and a brave soldier.

marriage in the new colony was celebrated; and the first child born in the colony was baptized Virginia, the name given to the granddaughter of Gov-

ernor White of the "lost colony" (see p. 18). But colonists could not feel safe in the new land, for half of each company of settlers died from chills and fever before they grew used to the unaccustomed climate and conditions. In 1610, therefore, the weakened and discouraged survivors of fever and of the incessant attacks by Indians prepared to return to England. They had actually embarked for the voyage, when they were met at the mouth of the James River by Lord Delaware with new settlers and supplies. All returned to Jamestown, and Delaware gave thanks to God that he had come in time to save the settlement.

Lord
Delaware
saves the
colony, 1610

From 1611 to 1619, there were times of great



Copyright, 1908, William Ordway Partridge

Statue of Pocahontas, executed by the American sculptor, William Ordway Partridge, for Jamestown Island, where Pocahontas saved the first settlement from massacre, and where she married John Rolfe. The expenses for this memorial were defrayed by the Pocahontas Society, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Colonial Dames, and other patriotic societies.

married her. The marriage greatly helped the struggling colony, for it brought peace with the

distress; but there was also an increase in the number of settlers who had been through the season of malarial sickness and were hardened or acclimatized. These could work, therefore, with vigor and hope of success. During this period, **Marriage of John Rolfe and Pocahontas, 1614**

was seized as a hostage for the future good behavior of Chief Powhatan. While she was a captive, a settler named John Rolfe fell in love with the "Indian princess," now nineteen years of age, converted her to Christianity, and

Indians during several years of slow growth and expansion.⁷

John Rolfe was the first Englishman to begin the cultivation of the tobacco plant, which soon became a leading industry in the colony and was the cause of its first period of prosperity. At one time, the profit in raising tobacco led the settlers to plant it alongside the streets of Jamestown. The need for more cleared ground for its cultivation accounted for the beginning of several "plantations" or settlements. Indeed, tobacco was said to be "almost worth its weight in gold," as it sold in 1617 for about \$12.00 a pound in present-day value.

Under the administration of Sir Thomas Dale (1611-1616), the communal system was abolished and thus a great obstacle to progress was removed. Dale was a strict, unyielding soldier, and under his rule very severe laws were laid down for the colonists. He was extremely jealous of intrusion on the part of any foreign nation into the domain of Virginia, a name under which the English then included the whole of America from Florida northward. When he heard, therefore, of Spaniards "spying out the country," he generally managed to seize them; and he sent out two expedi-

Cultivation
of tobacco

Administra-
tion of Sir
Thomas
Dale, 1611-
1616

⁷ Pocahontas was taken to England and welcomed at court, where, no doubt, she suffered from homesickness. After her death, in 1617, her husband returned to America. Her son, Thomas Rolfe, was educated in England, but settled in Virginia. Through him a number of Virginians trace descent from Pocahontas. In 1915, one of these descendants of Pocahontas became the wife of the President of the United States.

tions to the north, which succeeded in capturing several groups of French settlers as far distant as the present State of Maine.

While Dale was acting as Governor of Virginia, events of the greatest importance were happening in England. These events were destined to affect the whole course of colonial history. The first charter granted by James I to the colonists in 1606 gave the settlers "the civil rights of free Englishmen at home," but it gave them little or no real self-government. A second charter, granted in 1609, defined the boundaries of Virginia as given in the map on p. 30; but, in 1612, a third charter was granted, taking away from the King's Council much of their former power and making the London Company largely a self-governing body. The terms of this third charter enabled the Company itself to *confer more or less self-government on its colony in America*. In due time there arose two parties in the Company: a "people's," or "patriot," party, which desired self-government for the colony; and a "royal," or "king's," party, which tried to suppress popular government. In reality, it was a struggle between the rising spirit of democracy and the old doctrine of the "divine right of kings." In Britain, this struggle was to result in curbing the powers of the monarchy. In America, it was destined to result: *first in colonial self-government, and subsequently in the setting up of an independent republic*.⁸

The origin
of self-gov-
ernment in
America

⁸ To the teacher: It has been said that our history as colonies of Great Britain and as a republic is inseparably bound up in the term *self-government*. At this point, or a little later,

The popular party was led by Sir Edwin Sandys, under whose direction this first charter of self-government was prepared. The new orders were entrusted to Sir George Yeardley, who arrived at Jamestown, April 29, 1619 (April 19, O. S.); and on

First repre-
sentative
assembly in
America,
1619

August 9, the first American parliament or congress was called together. The twenty members of this *first representative assembly*, called the Virginia House of Burgesses,

were elected by ten separate communities or "plantations." Six councillors represented the London Company, and Governor Yeardley presided over the Assembly. The Church of England was made the church of Virginia and attendance at services was made compulsory. Laws were also passed taxing

Laws
concerning
religion,
education,
industry

especial display in wearing apparel in order to prevent or limit extravagance in these matters. Although, at this time, the entire population of the colony was less than two

thousand persons, the Assembly voted a tract of 10,000 acres for the founding of a school or "university" at Henrico, on the James River. Grants of land were also made to the boys and girls of the older colonists; and laws were passed for the encouragement of agriculture.

The early historians of Virginia tell us that during this first great period of growth and prosperity the unmarried colonists had their hearts "made

occasion should be made for a careful explanation of the term. Also, *democratic ideas* and *republican forms* of government should be distinguished from the *names of political parties* of the present time.

A report of the manner of choosing
in the general assembly convened at
James city in Virginia, July 30. 1619.
consisting of the suverns the council
of State and two Burgesses elected out
of each p^{ar}ty of plantation, &
being finished the 1st of August next ensuing



First Sir George Yeardley knight Governor & Captain
general of Virginia, having wrote his summons all over
the country, as well to invite those of the Council of State
that were absent, as also for the election of Burgesses
there were none and appeared

For James city

Captaine William Powell,
Esquire William Spense

For Charles city

Samuel Sharpe,
Samuel Jordan

For the city of Henricus

Thomas Poore,
John Polentine

For Kecoughtan

Captaine William Tucker,
William Capp

For Martin-Brandon Capt. John Martin place

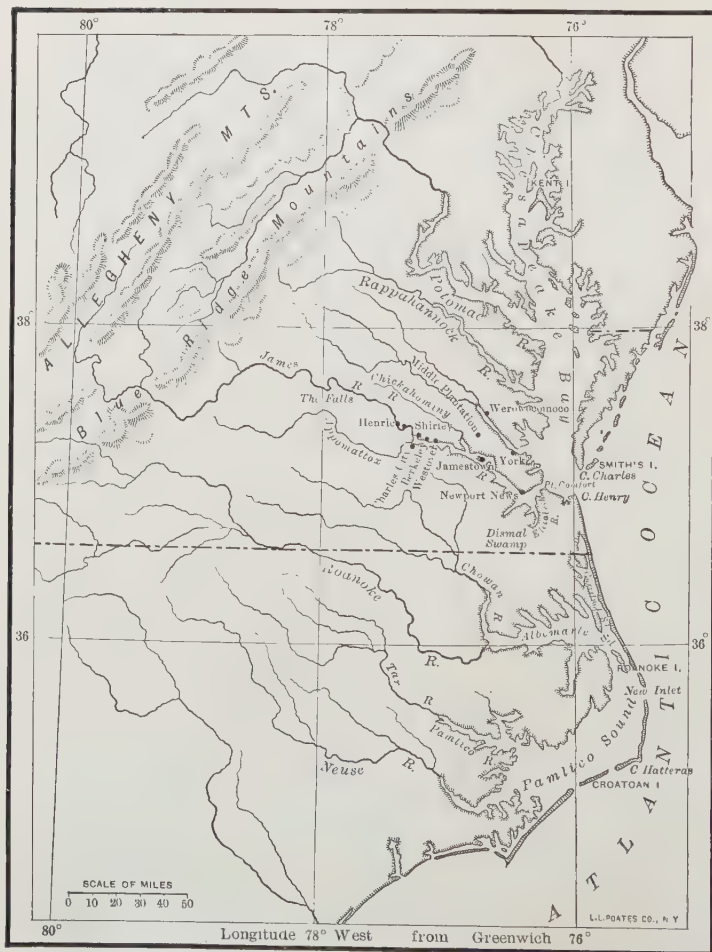
M^r Thomas Davis
M^r Robert Stacy

For Smyth's hundred

Captaine Thomas Graves,
M^r Walter Baker

From Avery's History of the United States and Its People. Courtesy of The United States History Company, Cleveland

Reproduction of a page of the proceedings of the first representative assembly in America, held at Jamestown, 1619. It was the forerunner of the Continental Congress and, therefore, of the Congress of the United States. Among the names on record here, we find that of John Jefferson, an ancestor of Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence.



Map of Jamestown and the neighboring settlements prior to the settlement of Maryland and North Carolina. Map also gives Roanoke Island, the site of the so-called "Lost Colony" sent over by Sir Walter Raleigh. "Middle Plantation" afterwards became Williamsburg, the capital of early Virginia after Jamestown.

very glad" by the success attending the efforts of Sir Edwin Sandys to provide them with More home life for the settlers good wives from home. At any rate, in 1619, a number of young women agreed to go to America to become helpmates to Virginia bachelors, who paid the expenses of their voyage in thousands of pounds of tobacco.

Not only did the colonists desire helpmates in their homes, but the first settlers stood greatly in need of labor to till the land and develop industries. Such has ever been the case with the western frontier of our country; and so it White indentured servants was with the Jamestown settlement. To supply the demand for laborers, the planters arranged for the coming of "indentured" servants, or persons who were bound out to labor for a number of years to those who agreed to pay for their passage to America. After their service had expired, these persons generally obtained land for themselves.

The same year (1619) in which so many noteworthy events happened, negroes were introduced into the colony, also as indentured servants. Some of these first negroes, if not all, gained their Negro indentured servants, 1619 freedom as did the whites. In the case of the negroes, however, it was soon recognized that they were far inferior in development, and that savages but lately redeemed from the lowest forms of barbarism in Africa might become a menace if granted the civil rights of Englishmen. It was natural that life-service and slavery itself should grow out of the importation of these indentured negro

laborers. In a short time, therefore, negro slavery became common in all the English colonies and was the source of an unhappy traffic or slave trade which proved very profitable to British trade monopolies.⁹

It has been seen that the year 1619 was a most important one in the history of America; for at this time in a new country, the great principles of self-government were being tested. But the group of far-sighted men who gave the first colonists this measure of liberty had incurred the enmity of the narrow-minded James I. The king forthwith accused the London Company of mismanagement, and, in 1624, took away its charter. So perished this patriotic body; but the principles implanted by its members in the minds and hearts of American colonists were destined to live forever and to hold up the light of popular government to enlighten both the Old World and the New.

⁹ To the teacher: When the indentured negro servants were brought over in 1619, slavery was unknown to English custom, although it was common throughout Spanish America. The English colonists became gradually used to it in a far more humane form than in any other country of the world. In the English colonies the negro was undoubtedly raised in the scale of civilization. Contrary to Spanish precedent, there was no sustained effort in any of the English colonies to enslave the Indians. The African negro seemed for the most part contented in a condition of slavery; the Indian, on the other hand, had developed so strong a sense of personal freedom that with him it was literally a case of "liberty or death." For the investigations which recently brought out the hitherto unknown fact that the first negroes imported were *servants rather than slaves*, see "The Free Negro in Virginia" (Dr. John H. Russell) in the Johns Hopkins University "Studies in Historical and Political Science," 1913.

POINTS OF INTEREST; SUGGESTIONS FOR READING OR DISCUSSION

It is worth remembering that the first English settlements aroused keen interest among scientists, scholars, poets, and artists, some of whom risked the great perils of the Atlantic passage and endured the hardships of pioneers for the sake of investigation and discovery.

**Scientific
interest in
the new
lands**

The Governor of the "lost colony" at Roanoke Island, Captain John White, was an artist and author. He escaped the fate of his companions when he returned to England for supplies in November, 1587. He made drawings in water-colors of the Indians and of natural objects hitherto strange to Europeans. One of those drawings is reproduced on page 17. Copies of the original drawings in the British Museum are in the Smithsonian Institution and in the hall of history, at Raleigh, North Carolina.

**Governor
John White,
first artist in
North
America**

Thomas Hariot, who invented some of the "signs" we use in arithmetic and algebra, was with this expedition. He left us interesting accounts of the roots, fruits, fish, fowls, etc., that the Indians ate, and of their dress, dyes, customs, and religion. He wrote: "Some of our company shewed themselves too furious in slaying some of the people in some Townes, upon causes that on our part might have been borne with more mildness; notwithstanding they justly deserved it."

**Thomas
Hariot,
mathema-
tician and
author**

Dr. Thomas Wotton (Wootton) and Dr. Walter Russell were among the first physicians of early settlement. Dr. Wotton seems to have incurred the dislike of Captain Smith, and we hear at greater length of Dr. Russell. While fishing, Smith was badly stung by the spine of the sting-ray and he writes of his injury that, "In 4. houres, had so extreainly swolne his hand, arme, shoulder, and part of his body, as we al with much sorrow concluded his funerall, and prepared his grave in an Ile hard by (as himselfe appointed); which then wee called Stingeray Ile, after the name of the fish. Yet by the helpe of a precious oile, Doctor Russel applied, ere night his tormenting paine was so wel assuaged that he eate the fish to his supper: which gave no lesse joy and content to us then ease to himselfe."

**Doctors
Wotton and
Russell, first
surgeon and
first
physician**

An interesting character at Jamestown was George Thorpe,

a scholar and former member of Parliament, who was given charge of the lands of Henrico University, where he labored to

**George
Thorpe and
Indian
education**

convert and educate the Indians. He built a home for Opechancanough, Powhatan's treacherous brother, the front door of which was provided with a lock and key.

We are told that the chief's principal delight was to open and reopen the lock a hundred times a day, for he thought "no device in the world comparable with it." This pioneer teacher of the Indians was slain by them in the massacre of 1622.

A traveler, author, and poet of note in England was George

**George
Sandys,
first English
poet in
America**

Sandys, who came over to Virginia in 1621 and returned to England several years later. He was a member of the Council in the new colony, and while in Virginia worked on parts of his poetic translation of Ovid's "Metamorphoses," "imprinted" in London in 1626.

Money for the erection of Henrico University was subscribed in both England and Virginia. Two departments were established, a college for the education of the Indians and a free school preparatory department. The college and school were destroyed during the Indian massacre of 1622, and the cause of education in Virginia received a blow from which it did not recover for many years.

To the teacher: The communal system, first attempted at Jamestown, was again tried with disastrous results in the case of the Pilgrims at Plymouth thirteen years later. The mortality of the first company of Pilgrims was as great as that at Jamestown.

**The
communal
system**

No one questions the high character of the great majority of the Pilgrim Fathers, and their first historian was sympathetic and fair. Hence, it does not seem just to follow the lead of Captain Smith in condemning the Jamestown colonists as incompetent or worse because of the failure of this plan of government and because of the disease and fatalities due to unaccustomed conditions and to inexperience in meeting these conditions. It is more than likely that WINGFIELD, ARCHER, MARTIN, RATCLIFFE, GOSNOLD, PERCY, and other settlers of the Jamestown colony, were men of character and worth. Smith called Archer, Martin, and Ratcliffe "tiffity-taffety" incompetents: yet these three members of the Virginia Council showed themselves to be men of daring and strong purpose at least; for, after the hardships and privations of the first year, they could have

remained in Old England, whither they had returned, possibly to get immigrants. Instead of remaining, however, they came back to the colony for better or for worse. Ratcliffe was president of the Virginia Council from September, 1607, to September, 1608, in the regular order of succession. On his return to Virginia, he was seized and murdered by Powhatan. Captain **Character of the first colonists** Gabriel Archer, the first man wounded by the Indians, died in the winter of 1609-'10. Captain John Martin commanded the *Benjamin* under Sir Francis Drake in the expedition which visited Roanoke Island in 1586. Except for brief visits to the mother country, he was in Virginia from 1606 to 1616, in which year the London Company rewarded him with ten shares of land in Virginia. In 1617, he established a prosperous plantation at Martin's Brandon on the James River. Here he lived for some years as a successful settler and as the sole survivor in Virginia of the original Council.

REFERENCE LIST OF EXPLORATIONS AND ATTEMPTS AT COLONIZATION FROM THE DISCOVERIES OF COLUMBUS AND CABOT TO SUCCESSFUL SETTLEMENT AT JAMESTOWN

- 1498: Second voyage of John Cabot.
- 1506: Denys (French) discovers the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
- 1513: Ponce de Leon (Spanish) names the Florida peninsula in his search for the fabled "Fountain of Youth."
- 1513: Balboa (Spanish) crosses the Isthmus of Panama.
- 1518: Cortes begins the Spanish conquest of Mexico.
- 1519: Magellan rounds the southernmost point of South America, and begins the voyage which first circumnavigated the globe, Magellan himself being killed in the Philippine Islands.
- 1526: De Ayllon (Spanish) attempts settlement in North America, possibly as far north as the Chesapeake Bay. De Ayllon commanded a company of 600 men and a number of negro slaves. He built a town which he called San Miguel, but the settlement was abandoned after three-fourths of the colonists had died from disease or from attacks by hostile savages.
- 1534-'35: Cartier (French) explores the St. Lawrence.
- 1539-'42: Hernando de Soto (Spanish), Governor of Cuba, lands on the west coast of Florida with an expedition

of 600 men. His course led him northward and westward through what are now the States of Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana. De Soto himself died near the Mississippi River, and was buried in its waters after three years of wandering through an almost trackless wilderness and in the face of a hundred attacks by hostile Indians.

1562-'65: Ribault (French) attempts settlement north of St. Augustine.

1565: Successful Spanish settlement at St. Augustine, Florida.

1579: Sir Francis Drake (English) explores the Pacific coast. lands near the present site of San Francisco, and calls the country *Nova Albion* (the western "New England").

1583: Sir Humphrey Gilbert (English) attempts settlement on coast of Newfoundland.

1585-'87: Raleigh (English) attempts settlement at Roanoke Island.

1602: Gosnold (English) attempts settlement on northern coast.

1607-'08: English attempt to settle in northern Virginia (Maine).

1607: First successful English settlement, Jamestown.

DATES FOR REFERENCE

1509-'47: Reign of Henry VIII.

1547-'53: Reign of Edward VI.

1553-'58: Reign of Mary.

1558-1603: Reign of Elizabeth.

1603-'25: Reign of James I, Union of England and Scotland.

CHAPTER III

BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN NEW ENGLAND

COLONIZATION in the northern part of Virginia, first called "New England" by Captain Smith, began in 1620 and became, in point of time, the second successful settlement made by the English. The history of this settlement is important and interesting, and it is necessary for us to go back to Old England to understand its beginnings. In England, at this time, people who did not approve of the forms of worship laid down by the Established Church were harassed or persecuted by the government. In 1608, after many difficulties and privations, many of these English dissenters fled from their homes and established themselves in Hol-
Religious persecution in England
land, at that time the only country in the world which allowed all Christians religious freedom. The leaders of this group were John Robinson, William Brewster, and William Bradford.

Entering into the life of the Dutch and conducting themselves as industrious citizens, the exiles were welcomed by the people of Holland. On the other hand, the English immigrants began to fear that in the course of time their children would intermingle with the Dutch and forget their English speech and origin. Moreover, it seemed to them likely that, as the twelve-year truce was about to

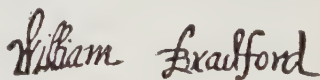
end, war might break out between the Dutch and their former foes, the Spanish. It was natural for them, therefore, to think about emigrating to the New World, where they could continue to be Englishmen and have the same liberty with regard to religious worship.¹

After much anxious discussion, it was decided that some of the exiles should leave Holland, meet a number of their fellow-believers in England, and embark for the New World.

Life in Holland, 1608-1620

Setting out for America

These exiles, or Pilgrims, as they began to be called, reached Plymouth, England, in the *Speedwell*. Here they were joined by their compatriots



From Avery's History of the United States and Its People
Courtesy of The United States History Company, Cleveland

Autograph of William Bradford, governor of the Plymouth Colony almost continuously from 1621 to 1657, the year of his death. Besides showing great ability in the management of men and officers, he was the author of religious verses and of the "History of the Plymouth Plantation."

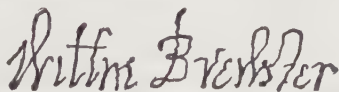
in the *Mayflower*. Both vessels set out for America; but the captain of the *Speedwell* thought, or pretended, that his boat was leaking and could not be trusted. The *Speedwell* then gave up the voyage and, on September 16, 1620, the *Mayflower* sailed for America with about 100 men and women on board.

It was not the intention of the emigrants to go to

¹ "They lived here," wrote Bradford, "but as men in exile, and in a poor condition; and as great miseries might possibly befall them in this place, for the 12 years of truce were now out, and there was nothing but beating of drums, and preparing for war, the events whereof are always uncertain. The Spaniard might prove as cruel as the savages of America, and the famine and pestilence as sore here as there, and their liberty less to look out for remedy."

New England, where the Plymouth Company had failed, but to settle on the coast south of the Hudson River far enough from Jamestown to be free from possible interference by the colony established there under the laws of the Church of England. But storms and continued bad weather drove the *Mayflower* from her course, and the colonists found themselves at Cape Cod, on the coast of Massachusetts. They first landed near the present site of Provincetown in November. The prospect before them at the beginning of the winter season on the almost uninhabited New England shore was enough to dishearten the boldest, but no group of men and women has ever shown a greater degree of the courage and determination that come from strong character and high purpose. After lying five weeks off the coast on board the *Mayflower*, the colonists determined to make a permanent settlement at the place called by Captain Smith (New) Plymouth. Here, on December 21, they began to construct as best they could shelter from the storms of the winter.

Landfall;
and settle-
ment, Dec.
21, 1620



From Avery's History of the United States and Its People
Courtesy of The United States History Company

Autograph of William Brewster, a founder of the Pilgrim Colony; an elder in the church at Plymouth, of which he had the principal care until 1629; died April 16, 1664.

Although they arrived in America at the most inhospitable time of the year, the Pilgrims were fortunate in that a pestilence among the Indians some three years before had almost destroyed the native tribes along the northeastern coast. On the

other hand, they were unprepared for the severity of the New England climate and many died of exposure. Others perished from scurvy and similar ills, due to lack of fresh food and of fruits; so that, in a few months, half of them had died.

Their first
winter,
1620-'21

We may imagine with what joy the surviving settlers welcomed the coming of spring and with it the beginnings of friendly relations with their savage neighbors, the Wampanoag Indians. These amicable relations, managed with prudence and fairness by the Plymouth settlers, were to continue for half a century. The chief of the

Relations
with the
Indians

Wampanoags was Massasoit. Some years before, one of the tribe, Squanto, had been carried off to England in an expedition led by Captain Smith. After being kindly treated, Squanto had been sent back to America; so that he now proved very useful to the Pilgrims. He acted as an interpreter for them and showed them how to plant corn, using fish for fertilizer in each hill, and he also showed them how "to dress and tend it" when it had sprouted.

The first
planting
season, 1621

It was seen in the preceding chapter that some years passed before the colonists of Virginia secured a great deal of self-government. The Pilgrims were more fortunate. When they saw that they were outside the bounds of their appointed place for settlement, they drew up a compact on board the *Mayflower*, under which it was determined that they themselves should make laws for the good of the colony, which all pledged themselves

Self-govern-
ment with
the Pilgrims

to obey. Like the earlier settlers at Jamestown, however, the Pilgrims were bound to the communal system described on page 21. The result was that success and good feeling among the colo-
 nists did not attend their labors until the Communal
system
 system was abandoned in 1623. Meanwhile "starving times" had seized the settlers, and once they thought they would have been "undone" but for the timely arrival from Virginia of supplies brought by a fishing vessel from the earlier colony.² Nevertheless, in a few years, in spite of these trials and of bad management or misunderstanding on the part of its supporters in England, the colony was on a firm basis.

By 1630, however, the Pilgrims had become outnumbered and overshadowed by the immigration of other Dissenters, who came direct from England. These Dissenters became more generally The Massa-
chusetts Bay
Colony
 known as Puritans. They thought that the English Church should abolish most of its forms and ceremonies, and that certain of its doctrines should be changed or abandoned. They did not wish to withdraw from the Church as the Pilgrims did, but they said that they wished to "purify" it and make

² The visiting Virginians were survivors of the terrible massacre of 1622, which had taken place a few weeks before. Their captain, John Huddleston, addressed the Pilgrims thus: "Friends, countrymen, and neighbors: . . . Bad news doth spread itself too far; yet I will so far inform you that myself, with many good friends in the south colony of Virginia, have received such a blow, that 400 persons will not make good our losses. Therefore, I do intreat you (although not knowing you) that the old rule which I learned when I went to school, may be sufficient. That is, 'Happy is he whom other men's harm doth make to beware.'"

it better according to their ideas. Under Charles I, these Puritans were persecuted like their Pilgrim brethren. Encouraged by the successful colonization of the Pilgrims, they began to emigrate to New England. From 1628 to 1630, they began settlements at Salem, Boston, and other places on the shore of Massachusetts Bay. Hence this later group became known as the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and the body of men in England that sent out the settlers was called the Massachusetts Bay Company.

We have seen that the London or Virginia Company had been overthrown by James I because of its spirit of democracy and independence. That Company held its meetings in England, where it was easy for the King to reach it. In the case of the Company of Massachusetts Bay, however, the charter, secured under Charles I, did not state where the Company should hold its meetings. The supporters of the new colony, therefore, doubtless fearing the fate

Transfer of
Massachu-
setts Bay
Colony to
America

of the Virginia Company, *transferred its charter and meeting place to American soil, with the determination to set up there, in very large measure, a self-governing body or community independent of the English Church and as free as possible from the political control of the king.*

From the first, the Puritan settlers showed a marked determination to govern themselves; and, as

Independent
attitude of
the Puritans

Charles I had his hands well occupied with religious and political troubles at home, he was forced to overlook the independent acts and attitude of what soon became a numerous colony. The

principal leader in this Puritan emigration was John Winthrop, the first Governor of the Bay Colony and a man of unusual ability. He came over in 1630 with no less than 900 emigrants.

Margaret Winthrop

From Avery's History of the United States and Its People
Courtesy of The United States History Company, Cleveland

Autograph of Margaret, wife of Governor John Winthrop. That she was a great help to Governor Winthrop is shown in his letters to her in England before she joined him in America. Her husband testified in his diary, after her death in 1647, that she was "specially beloved and honored of the country."

These Puritans were, for the most part, men of strong character and purpose, but stern and severe to a degree which we can hardly understand to-day. They had been persecuted in England like the Pilgrim Fathers, but, unlike the Pilgrims, they had not become tolerant of the opinions of those who did not agree with them. The government they set up was made up of parishes or township units, and its control was in the hands of a select number who accepted the political and religious beliefs of the leading men. As Governor Winthrop maintained, "The best part of a community is always the least; and of that best part, the wiser part is always the lesser."³

Puritan ideas
of Church
and State

In order to uphold what they believed was "the best part" of the people, the Puritans were bold enough to send back to England those who believed in the customs and usages of the English Church, from which they had now separated themselves. This act was perhaps the first of a long series of acts

³To the teacher: A talk might be had at this point as to what degree this sentiment holds good in our thought and government to-day. Cf. foot-note, p. 48.

in which they showed their determination to manage their own affairs. When Charles I expressed his displeasure with the independent manner of the Bay colony, the Puritans prepared to resist. As early as 1636 they set up defences to repel any force that might be sent against them, and the name *Beacon Hill* came from the signal station they then established upon the highest point in Boston.

As in all cases where a few attempt absolute control of government and religion, disagreements arose in the colony; and as the Puritans were dissenters protesting against the usages of the church of Old England, so, in turn, dissenters arose in protest against the rule of the Puritan church in New England. The most noted of these new dissenters were Roger Williams and Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. The former was pastor of the Puritan church at Salem, but he began to preach doctrines that were at variance with those of the rest of the Puritan leaders. Some of these doctrines were: (1) that land in America belonged to the Indians, and, for that reason, the king had no right to give it away; (2) that the church and the state (religious and political government) should be separated, and that no one should be made to pay taxes to support a church or minister; (3) that each individual was responsible to God only for his religious opinions.⁴

⁴ To the teacher: It must be borne in mind that in early New England history under the Puritans, church authority was practically synonymous with government, and that the Puritan ministers were leaders in political thought.

It was plain to the Puritan leaders that their form of government could not continue if the doctrines set forth by Roger Williams were to spread. Consequently, in 1636, they made plans to send him back to England; but Williams fled into the wilderness in the dead of winter and soon thereafter established a settlement on the shore of Narragansett Bay, which he called Providence; for God, he said, had provided a home for him there. Living up to his political and religious beliefs, he entered into treaties with the Indians for such land as he needed for purposes of settlement. Providence "Plantation" was outside the limits of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and was the beginning of the colony of Rhode Island. Here the religious dissenters and the persecuted of other settlements were welcomed. Here, also, came Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and some of her followers, who were driven from Boston on account of their religious beliefs. These bought land from the Indians and founded Newport and other places. From 1630 until the outbreak of the war between Royalists and Puritans in Britain, the growth and expansion of the Puritan colonies in New England was remarkable.⁵

Beginning
of the colony
of Rhode
Island, 1636

In 1633 the Dutch established a fort in support of a profitable fur trade on the Connecticut River. This

⁵ Some of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers fled northward and began a settlement at Exeter, not far from settlements already begun by Englishmen not of the Puritan sect. Later, settlers from Massachusetts came into the neighborhood, and, in 1679, Charles II united them into the colony or royal province of New Hampshire.

fort was built as far north as the present site of Hartford. The Dutch, from their principal settlement at New Amsterdam (New York), claimed all of eastern Connecticut; but, in 1635, John Winthrop, the son of Governor Winthrop

The Dutch
claims

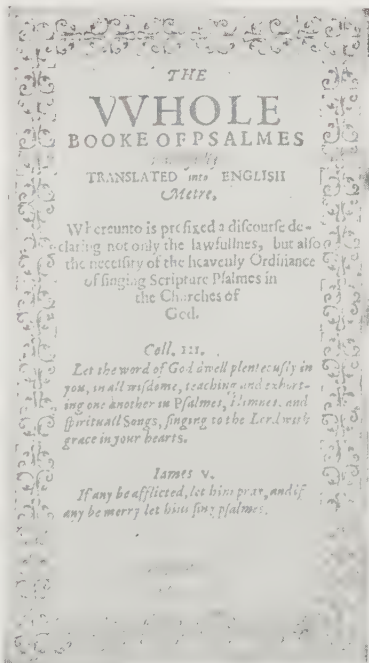


Map of New England; shaded portions show settlements in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

of Massachusetts Bay, built at the mouth of the Connecticut a fort which controlled that river and forced the Dutch out of the Connecticut Valley. The following year (1636), a great number of settlers poured

into the Connecticut Valley. One of their leaders was Thomas Hooker, a Puritan clergyman. Like Roger Williams, Hooker held new views as to government. As we have seen, Governor Winthrop believed in government by a limited part of the people. Hooker believed that all the people should take part in the making and maintenance of government. Winthrop's scheme of government created an aristocracy or a favored few. Hooker, on the other hand, was in favor of democracy, or a government, as far as possible, "of the people, for the people, and by the people." At first these new settlements held themselves to be associated with the Massachusetts Colony; but, in 1639, those south of the boundary of Massachusetts created a separate colony with a written constitution. As this is

The
 beginning of
 the Colony of
 Connecticut



Title-page of the first book published in the English colonies. It was printed from the first press, set up at Cambridge by Stephen Daye, an apprentice printer from London. The press was under the control of Harvard College.

said to be the first government of free people set up under a written constitution, Connecticut is

sometimes called "the Constitutional State." It maintained this constitution when, in 1662, it was provided with a charter under Charles II.⁶

The greatly increasing number of English settlers not unnaturally aroused the fears and jealousy of the Indians. The Wampanoags were faithful to their treaty made with the Pilgrims; the Narragansetts were held in check by Roger Williams, who risked his life to save his former Puritan persecutors; but to the west of the Narragansetts were the Pequots, a powerful tribe which began to capture, torture, and kill the whites in the outlying settlements. After some unsuccessful attempts to subdue the Indians, the whites made a more determined effort in the spring of 1637 under Captains Mason and Underhill. This time the English were well led and by forced marches surprised the Pequots in their great fort on the Mystic River. The en-

⁶ To the teacher: Taken together with the idea of *self-government*, as opposed to outside interference, these views of the *form of government*, first, within the colonies, and, secondly, within the States and the Federal Union, embrace the basic principles underlying our development as a nation, and the measure of our greatest divisions in political opinion. In a sense, this discussion between the followers of Winthrop and of Hooker continued between Hamilton and Jefferson and their supporters, and, in a more general way, it has appeared in arguments of political leaders and parties from the foundation of the first colonies to the present time. In the United States, the Hooker-Jeffersonian ideas are openly triumphant; nevertheless, a large number of able men uphold, less openly, perhaps, the political tenets of Winthrop and Hamilton. Either side points to the failures of the other and both boast of the achievements of their respective leaders and policies.

trances were blocked, the wigwams set on fire; and of several hundred trained warriors, only five escaped. Those of the Pequot tribe not in the fort were cut off in attempting to flee westward. So complete a victory amazed the other Indian tribes, and no further attacks were made on the whites for nearly half a century.

After the Pequot war, a number of the captured Indian warriors were shipped from the New England colonies and sold as slaves in the West Indies, where most of them perished miserably in the unaccustomed heat of the tropics. The women and children were held in servitude at home. As early as 1636, the ship *Desire* was built at Marblehead, Massachusetts, for the purpose of carrying on a slave trade in negroes captured or bought on the coast of Africa. These negroes were, in some instances, brought to New England; but, for the most part, they were sold in the West Indies or in the English colonies in the south. This slave trade soon became as profitable to New Englanders engaged in it as the raising of tobacco to Virginians, and it continued to thrive for nearly two hundred years. The Puritan leaders sought to justify a traffic which we now should consider very wrong on the ground that the negroes, being not only heathen, but savages and often cannibals, were greatly benefited by a change to a very much better condition of servitude under civilized masters and Christian influences.

In their eager haste to establish themselves in the new country, the colonists did not fail to provide for

Beginnings
of the slave
trade

the education of their children. It was not long before all the large townships had schools, and laws were made establishing systems of education. In 1636, a school was begun at Newtown. Endowed two years later by John Harvard, the school became Harvard University, which has the distinction, in addition to its renown



OLD HARVARD COLLEGE (from etching by Paul Revere)

The oldest existing educational institution in the United States; founded at New Towne (afterwards Cambridge), Mass., for the purpose of educating the "English and Indian youth in knowledge and godliness." It received its first special endowment in 1638, and the college was opened soon afterwards. Its first class of nine members was graduated in 1642.

as a centre of higher education, of being the oldest existing institution of learning in the United States.

POINTS OF INTEREST; SUGGESTIONS FOR READING OR DISCUSSION

It is interesting to recall how many of the early expeditions of importance in the history of America were by chance thrown out of their prescribed courses. For example, contrary to his plans, Columbus drifted several hundred miles to the south; the "lost colony" at Roanoke Island intended to settle in the Chesapeake; the Jamestown colonists intended to settle at Roanoke Island; and the Pilgrim Fathers were turned off their course by stormy weather. Had the Pilgrims landed just south of the Hudson, they might have fallen into a controversy with the Dutch, who had established trading posts in that neighborhood.

If the original plans of the Pilgrims had been carried out?

The Pilgrim colony of the *Mayflower* consisted of 102 persons, one of whom died in mid-ocean. The number, however, remained the same, for on the voyage a child was born to Stephen and Elizabeth Hopkins, who was aptly named *Oceanus*.

**Oceanus
Hopkins**

As John Robinson remained in Holland, William Brewster became the spiritual leader of the Pilgrims in America. William Bradford was their historian and gives an interesting account of the failure of the *communal system*, which the managers of both the Jamestown and the Plymouth colonies attempted to force upon the settlers. Bradford writes that after he had, in 1623, done away with the system of holding property in common, and had "assigned to every family a parcel of land," a new spirit was shown by the settlers. He adds that all hands became very industrious and "more corn was planted than otherwise would have been by any means the Governor or any other could use." All went willingly into the field to work, whereas many had hitherto complained of weakness or inability. He further writes that experience with the communal system, "*tried sundry years, and that amongst godly and sober men, showed clearly the vanity of a system which was found to breed much confusion and discontent.*"

**The
communal
system, not
the settlers,
the cause of
early failure**

Captain John Smith offered to guide the Pilgrim Fathers to the New World; the Pilgrims, however, did not accept his offer. Smith told the story, in part, as follows: "Some hundred of your Brownists of England, Amsterdam, and Leyden, went to New Plimouth, whose humorous ignorances caused them, for more than a year to endure a wonderful deal of misery, with an infinite patience; saying my books and maps were much better cheap [cheaper] than my self to teach them. . . . Such humorists will never believe well, till they be beaten with their own rod."⁷

**Captain
Smith's offer
to guide the
Pilgrims**

At the present time, the President of the United States sets apart one day in every year for "thanksgiving." This is a national "feast-day," and has come down to us from the first thanksgiving proclamation issued by Governor Bradford after the crops were gathered in 1621.

**First
Thanks-
giving Day**

⁷ Separatists were sometimes called "Brownists" after the name of one of their leaders. "Humorists" is here used in the old sense of "persons having humors, or distempers; fanatics."

The Pilgrims were a very serious people and did not wish to indulge in celebrations of the old feast days of the church and the people of England. But newcomers to the "plantation" did not always agree with these views; so that at Christmas, 1621, some of the later arrivals informed Governor Bradford that it was against their conscience to work on that day. Bradford replied that if they thought it wrong to work, he would not compel them "till they were better informed." But when Bradford and the first colonists returned from their work, they found the newcomers "pitching the bar" and playing at ball and "like sports." Bradford promptly "took away their implements" and told them that it was against *his* conscience "that they should play and others work"; that if they wished to make the keeping of the day "a matter of devotion, let them keep to their houses; but there should be no gaming or revelling in the streets." It is needless to say that the ball game the colonists were playing was not much like our so-called "national sport" to-day! But such as it was, it seems to have been stopped for a long time; for the Governor writes many years later: "Since which time nothing hath been attempted that way, at least openly."

**The first (?)
game of ball**

When the settlement was small and weak, Canonicus, chief of the Narragansetts, sent Governor Bradford a bundle of arrows tied together with a snake skin, which was the Indian way of threatening war. Bradford returned the skin filled with powder and shot to show that he was ready for battle if the Narragansetts wished to fight. At the same time, he sent word that there should be no fight between neighbors who had no cause for quarreling, and Canonicus was accordingly persuaded that peace was the better policy.

**Canonicus
and the
snake skin**

In New England, the year 1636 was crowded with notable events. It marked the beginnings of the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut; the Pequot war began in that year, and war was threatened with the mother country; definite plans were made for education, and Harvard University was founded; the same year saw also the basis laid for the African slave trade of the New England colonies.

**The year 1636
in New
England
history.**

**First print-
ing press,
and first
book**

In 1639 the first printing press in the English colonies was set up at Cambridge; the first volume printed on it was the Bay Psalm Book, issued in 1640. See illustration, p. 47.

For English dates see end of Chapters II and IV.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY HISTORY OF MIDDLE AND SOUTHERN COLONIES;
THE STORY OF VIRGINIA AND NEW ENGLAND CON-
TINUED TO PERIOD OF STRUGGLE WITH NEW FRANCE

Beginnings of the Middle Colonies.—We have followed the beginnings of the first two English colonies and have seen the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay settlements invade the land claimed by the Dutch in western New England. We now turn to the Dutch settlement at the mouth of the Hudson.

After the discoveries of John Cabot, the English held to their claims to the Atlantic coast; but, before they could establish themselves from Jamestown northward, the Dutch had begun a fur trade with the Indians. In 1609, an Englishman, commanding a single small vessel in the service of the Dutch East India Company, sailed into the harbor where to-day the greatest city of the world carries on its trade with every nation. The Englishman was Captain Henry Hudson, and his ship was called the *Half Moon*. He sailed up the river which bears his name in an effort to find a route to Asia. The effort was, of course, a failure, and he returned to the Netherlands with a boat-load of furs obtained from the Indians of the Hudson Valley.



DUTCH COSTUMES OF
NEW NETHERLAND

The Dutch
and New
Netherland

Although trading posts were soon thereafter established by the Dutch, actual settlement did not begin till 1623, a few years after the coming of the Pilgrims. The land claimed by the Dutch was called New Netherland, and colonization followed under the direction of the Dutch *West India Company*. Although the fur trade flourished, the colony itself did not grow as rapidly as those of the English on either side. Consequently, in order to help settlement, the Dutch West India Company offered to give a large grant of land to any one who was able to get fifty persons to go with him to live as tenants on his estate. The owners of these estates were called "patroons," and the chief Dutch settlement on Manhattan Island was called New Amsterdam.

The government set up by the Dutch in New Netherland was unlike that of the English colonies. The patroons had many privileges, but there was little self-government by the people; and the governor appointed by the West India Company had almost absolute control of the colony. The settlers had no House of Burgesses, as in Virginia, or town meetings, as in New England. The Dutch settlers wished to lead quiet, peaceful lives, while their wives prided themselves on their wonderfully clean-scoured homes and their good cooking. Their governors, however, caused much trouble and were, as a rule, men of poor judgment. One of them, William Kieft, provoked several attacks on the part of the Indians.

Under Peter Stuyvesant, the last of the Dutch



From Avery's History of the United States and Its People. Courtesy of The United States History Company, Cleveland

New Amsterdam about 1630-'35; compare with the present "sky-line" of New York, p. 346.

governors, New Amsterdam was protected from the Indians by a high, strong fence along the line of what is now known as Wall Street. Stuyvesant was a hot-tempered old soldier who had lost a leg in fighting



Governor Peter Stuyvesant tearing up the British summons to surrender New Amsterdam in 1664.

the Portuguese and Spaniards. He did not believe in any government "by the people" and wished to rule with absolute power. New Amsterdam had a mixed population of many nations, yet he tried to

prevent any worship but that of the Dutch Reformed Church. Accordingly, he began to punish dissenters of all kinds, but in this he was over-ruled by the West India Company, which directed him to restore religious liberty as it then prevailed in Holland.

The English, however, had no intention of permitting the Dutch colony to interfere with the prior claims of John Cabot. In 1664, therefore, Charles II sent a fleet to New Amsterdam and caught the Dutch unprepared to offer effective resistance. Stuyvesant wanted to fight anyhow; but the settlers would not uphold him, and New Amsterdam became *New York*, so named after the Duke of York, brother of Charles II, and afterwards James II.¹

In the same year that marked the capture of New Amsterdam, the English took formal possession of the country immediately south of the Hudson. This was made over by special grant to two English noblemen, John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The latter had been the Royalist governor of the island of Jersey in the English Channel during the Civil War in Britain, and the new province was named *New Jersey*. The governors, or *proprietors*, granted the settlers a large measure of the self-government enjoyed by so many Englishmen in the New World.

Afterwards, the Society of Friends bought New Jersey and made a treaty with the Indians that was

¹ The Dutch regained possession of New York in 1673, but held it for one year only.

kept with remarkable good will on both sides. By 1702, however, disputes as to land titles caused lawsuits, and the province was given over to the direction of the English crown. The king appointed the governors from that time till the Revolution, and the last royal governor was William Franklin. The latter was a son of the Benjamin Franklin of whom we shall read as a leader in resisting the attempts of king and Parliament *to take away the self-government which most of the English colonies had enjoyed from their foundation.*

In 1638, a number of Swedes settled on the west bank of the Delaware River. Here they built a fort which they named Christiana, in honor of Queen Christina, the daughter of their great warrior king, Gustavus Adolphus. In 1654, Peter Stuyvesant came down upon the Swedes from New Amsterdam and seized "New Sweden" in the name of the Netherlands; but, when Stuyvesant himself surrendered to the English ten years later, New Sweden became a part of the territory of the Duke of York. The latter sold it to William Penn, who called the territory thus acquired "The Three Lower Counties on the Delaware." In 1776, these counties became the State of Delaware.

In point of time, Maryland was the third colony founded by the English in the New World. Like the Plymouth colony, it owed its origin to religious persecution in England. In this case, those persecuted were the Catholics of England, who wished to worship in accordance with the ritual and

New Jersey
becomes a
royal
province

New Sweden
becomes
Delaware

Beginnings
of Maryland

beliefs of the Church of Rome, the authority of which had been denied under Henry VIII, restored under Mary, and finally overthrown under Elizabeth in 1558.

The Roman Catholics were restricted in many ways with respect to political and religious privileges; so that George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, asked Charles I for a tract of land in northern Virginia. George Calvert, after attempt-

First
settlement,
1634

ing to establish a colony in Newfoundland, died in 1632, so that the task of colonization descended to Cecil, second Lord Baltimore. In 1634, Cecil sent out his younger brother, Leonard, with about 300 settlers, to take possession of a grant of land in the region north and east of the Potomac River, south of the 40th parallel, and extending westward to the source of the Potomac. Calvert's colony landed on the west shore of the Chesapeake Bay and established a settlement at St. Mary's. The land they called *Maryland*, after Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I.



Avery's History

GEORGE CALVERT

George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, and founder of Maryland; he died in 1632, before the colony was established

The colony was founded on the principle of religious freedom for all who professed the Christian faith. Roman Catholics, Church of Eng-

Religious
liberty

land people, Puritans persecuted in Virginia, and Quakers driven from New England, were all free to worship as they chose. As all were welcomed by the new colony from its beginning, Mary-

land may be said to have led the English colonies in establishing this advanced measure of religious liberty.²

From the first, the people shared in making their laws, and they soon demanded and secured the right to propose or originate measures of government.

**Political
liberty**

The Governors, or *Lords Proprietors*, as the Calverts were called, were granted almost royal powers. The Lords Baltimore were given the right to coin money, wage war, and even to confer titles of nobility; and it was further declared in the king's patent that the property of the people of Maryland should be forever free from taxation by the crown.

**The
Claiborne
dispute**

The new settlement aroused the jealousy of some of the Virginians at Jamestown, who believed that the Maryland grant infringed upon their charter rights and occupied a part of their territory. One of these Virginians, William Claiborne, had already established a trading post at Kent Island within the limits of Lord Baltimore's grant. Although Claiborne was driven out of Maryland, he caused the Lords Baltimore a great deal of trouble for many years.

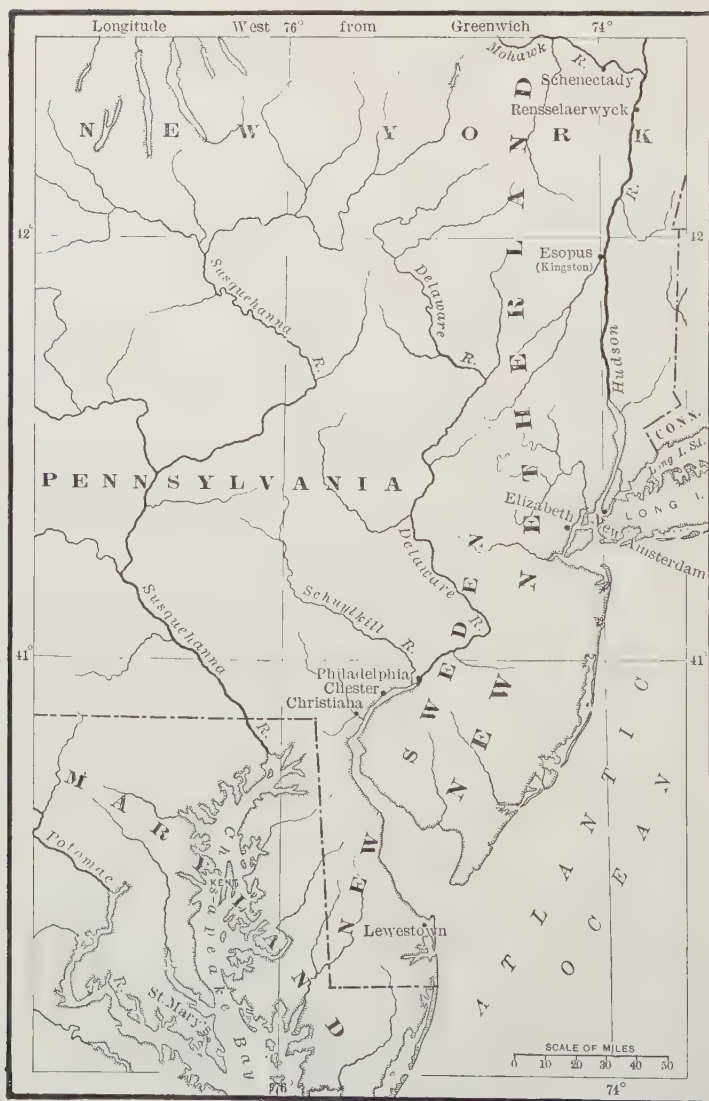
In 1649, the Puritans under Oliver Cromwell triumphed over Charles I in the Civil War in England; and, in 1654, those Puritans who had come into Maryland set up a form of government under

² The Toleration Act of 1649 merely confirmed, by law of the General Assembly, the practices and purposes of Lord Baltimore begun at the founding of the colony. It did not mark the beginning of religious toleration in Maryland.

which the Catholics were oppressed. A fight took place on the Severn River and the supporters of Lord Baltimore were defeated. Cromwell, however, restored Lord Baltimore to au-
Puritan and Anglican supremacy
 thority in the colony, and religious liberty was enjoyed by all as before until, in 1689, the adherents of the Church of England got control in Maryland, and, for a time, taxed all the people for its support.

In 1681, the Quakers, or Society of Friends, under the leadership of William Penn, established the colony of Pennsylvania. In the Old World the Quakers had been persecuted for their re-
Origin of Pennsylvania
 ligious and civil beliefs. Hence, like the Pilgrims, Roger Williams, and Lord Baltimore, they began to plan a colony of their own where they could worship in their own way without hindrance.

To-day, any town or State would welcome a group of Friends; but, in colonial times, these most peaceable people were regarded as very dangerous on account of their new doctrines. We may recall that the Puritans believed that *they* were the chosen people of God; and that, in the terms of the Old Testament, the heathen were their "inheritance" and could rightly be attacked, killed, or enslaved. The Quakers, on the other hand, held that all men were equal. They followed what they believed was a teaching of the New Testament that no resistance should be made even against an unprovoked attack. They would not, therefore, swear to defend the State in case of war. Furthermore, they offended persons in authority by refusing to honor titles, and they would



MAP SHOWING THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES

not remove their hats even before governors and kings. The Puritans had done away with nearly all the forms of the English Church; but the Quakers wished to do away with the regularly supported clergy also. That this persecuted sect should have secured a grant of land in America happened in this way.

Charles II owed William Penn, the most noted of the Friends in England, a great deal of money. Penn suggested that the debt could be paid by a grant of land in America. The extravagant Charles II, who was always in need of ready money, liked the idea and gave Penn a tract of land of 48,000 square miles, extending west from the Delaware River. This he called Penn's Woods, or *Pennsylvania*. Charles II liked Penn and frankly told him that the American savages would put a quick end to the Quaker colonists, if he did not provide a regiment of soldiers to defend them. But Penn would not accept so much as a single gun. He believed that even the savages would respect fair treatment.³

Colonists landed in 1681 at New Castle (Delaware) and in New Jersey. The next year, Penn proceeded up the Delaware River and founded the city of "Brotherly Love," or Philadelphia. This city he had planned before leaving England, and so orderly was it in arrangement that it is said to be, from its beginning, the first American

Penn's grant
of land

First
settlement,
1681-'82

³ It may be wondered if he knew of Bradford's relation with the Wampanoags; the at least temporary effect of the marriage of Pocahontas; and of Roger Williams' treaty with the Narragansetts.

city having streets that were straight, and not constructed at random, as was the case with the older portions of every other large city in the East.

At Chester, in 1682, Penn called the colonists together and drew up what was called "The Great Law" for the maintenance of peace and order. This

"The Great
Law"

"Great Law" provided, among other things, for freedom of worship, in that no one who believed in God and lived peaceably and justly, "shall in any wise be molested"; that every child, after reaching twelve years of age, should be taught some useful occupation; that the death penalty should be visited upon a person not for almost every form of law-breaking, as was then the case in Great Britain, but for murder and treason only; and that the prisons should not be gloomy dungeons scarcely fit for beasts, but work-shops and places of reform.

Indian
treaty

Soon after drawing up "The Great Law," Penn made a treaty with the Indians which was not broken as long as the Quakers were in control of the colony, or for over forty years. Apparently, he had proved to Charles II the soundness of his belief that even savages would respect his unarmed settlement, if proper regard were had to the rights of the natives. Penn returned to England and



WILLIAM PENN

William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania. Like Calvert, he was not in agreement with the doctrines of the Church of England; on account of his religious convictions, he and his co-religionists suffered many trials and imprisonments in England; he succeeded in establishing a refuge in America for the oppressed.

died there in 1718. His colony, however, continued to grow and to attract many settlers other than those of the Society of Friends. By the time of the Revolution, Philadelphia had become one of the most important cities in the English colonies and it became, also,



PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

This treaty was kept with good will on both sides for many years. An enlarged picture of the wampanoag peace belt in the hands of the Indian is given in the chapter on Indian life and customs at the end of this volume.

the meeting place for many notable assemblies, of which we shall read later.

At the beginning of the Maryland colony, disputes arose with Virginia with respect to the invasion of the rights of the earlier colony. A similar dispute arose when Charles II made his grant to William

Penn. This time, Maryland was the colony that felt cause for grievance, for the grant made to Penn invaded the territory of Lord Baltimore. After many years of argument, during which Penn was determined to maintain his outlet to the ocean, a boundary line was marked off by two surveyors named Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon. This line came to be known as Mason and Dixon's Line, and the latter name may have given the term "Dixie," often applied to the southern section of the present Union.

Establishing the Southern Colonies.—As seen in Chapter II, the attack by the Spanish Armada in 1588 probably brought about the failure of the Roanoke Colony through cutting off its support from the mother country. In 1663, Charles II granted the country between Virginia and Florida to eight of his friends as "Lords Proprietors."⁴ The French, in the preceding century, had named the country Carolina in honor of their king, Charles IX; and this name was retained by the English in honor of Charles I and Charles II. Permanent settlement in the present State of North Carolina was begun before 1660 by a number of Virginians. The first settlers began to make homes for themselves in the territory lying between the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers. Later, these pioneers were joined by Quakers and other Dissenters who wished to be free from the

⁴ These Lords Proprietors were: The Duke of Albemarle, who had been the famous General Monk under Cromwell; Sir William Berkeley, then Governor of Virginia; the Earl of Clarendon, the noted British historian; Lord Craven; Lord (John) Berkeley; Sir John Colleton; Sir George Carteret; and Lord Ashley.

control of the Virginia church and government. In the development of the new country, the colonists enjoyed the freedom of frontier life, spending their time in hunting, fishing, and clearing ground for planting. Such a life led them to set a high value on liberty; and those who, later, planned to limit this liberty found that they had to deal with a "stubborn race."

In connection with the story of the colony at Roanoke we have seen how scientists and philosophers seemed to take an especial interest in the settlement of this part of the American coast. At this time, a famous philosopher named John Locke, upon request of the Proprietors, drew up a form of government for Carolina that was intended to become a model for all others. His plan provided liberally for the Lords Proprietors, and through them, for a system of American earls, lords, and barons, who were to own the land; while the people living on the land and tilling it were to be their dependents without political privileges of any kind. But *the spirit of self-government* seemed to be a part of the free air and generous soil of the new country; and Carolinians from the first were free. They would have none of Locke's system of government; and, although an attempt was made to carry out its provisions, the "Grand Model" was abandoned as a complete failure.⁵

The "Grand Model" vs. the American spirit

The Albemarle and Cape Fear settlements (North Carolina) were united with the settlements on the

⁵To the teacher: Locke's "Grand Model" for Carolina was a government *for the people* but not *of*, or *by* them. The nearest comparison is the system of "patroonships," established by the

Ashley River (South Carolina) under one governor, although each had separate governments. After 1712, separate governors were appointed; and, in 1729, the northern settlements became recognized as the Royal Colony of North Carolina.

In North Carolina, the people showed their spirit of independence in almost constant contention for a greater measure of self-government than the proprietors were disposed to grant. In one case, the people rose in resistance to the regulations placed upon navigation and commerce and put the collector of duties in prison. This was in 1678. Ten years later, they drove Governor Sothel, a Lord Proprietor, out of the colony.

The increase of white settlements in Carolina aroused the Indians; and, in 1711, the Tuscaroras began a series of attacks upon the whites. Outlying settlements were destroyed and the settlers tortured and killed. Aided by South Carolinians, the men of North Carolina began a war of extermination against the natives, which lasted two years, until the whites were finally victorious and the Tuscaroras migrated to New York, where they joined the five Iroquois tribes, known thereafter as the "Six Nations."

Dutch in New Netherland. Locke's "Grand Model" affords a most interesting contrast to Penn's "Great Law"; also to Hooker's "Connecticut Constitution," to the Pilgrims' "Compact," and, indeed, to the whole spirit of the English colonies, beginning with the "Magna Charta of Virginia," as some have called the charter which called into being the first representative assembly of the New World in 1619. An intermediate ground may be seen in Winthrop's view of *government by a few* in Massachusetts.

North Carolina offered its settlers an unusual variety of occupations. Besides the clearing of land and the cultivation of tobacco, already found so profitable in Virginia, the Carolinians raised cattle in the fertile bottom lands; and the great **Industries** forests of pine afforded vast quantities of lumber, tar, pitch, and turpentine. The climate was milder, and spring set in sooner than in the more northern colonies, so that the earlier fruits and vegetables made life pleasant and living easier.

A settlement in what is now South Carolina was attempted in 1562 by French Huguenots under Jean Ribault. This settlement was abandoned three years later. Successful English colonization began in 1670, when William Sayle led a number of **Beginnings of South Carolina** Puritans to Port Royal, the site of the ill-fated colony of Ribault. Believing that this was too accessible to attack by the Spaniards of Florida, the colony moved to a harbor farther north and called their settlement **Charles Town**.⁶

From the first, the colony attracted immigrants and prospered accordingly. Huguenots fled thither from persecution in France; Englishmen came from the mother country and from the West Indies; and some of the Dutch moved thither from New Amster-

⁶ The decision seems to have been a wise one. The Spaniards prepared to overwhelm the settlement at the stronger position at Charles Town, but the fortifications appeared too formidable and they sailed away without accomplishing anything. A few years later, when Lord Cardross and a number of Scotch Covenanters attempted a settlement at Port Royal, the Spaniards defeated them and destroyed the settlement.



MAP SHOWING EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN THE SOUTHERN COLONIES, INCLUDING A PART OF THE SPANISH COLONY OF FLORIDA

dam, when that settlement was seized by the Duke of York. In love of liberty, these settlers were like their fellow-colonists elsewhere in America. The history of the first half century of the colony is a story of struggle with many of their proprietary governors, until, in 1719, the people petitioned the king for a change of government. This was granted them a few years later, when South Carolina became a royal province, and the governors were appointed by the king.⁷

Life in the Carolina colonies was exceptionally full of action and adventure. Not only were there wars with various Indian tribes, such as the Tuscaroras (1711-'13), the Cherokees (1715), the Yamassees and others (1748-'61); but pirates and buccaneers of the kind of Captain Kidd and "Black-beard" infested the southern seas for many years. Moreover, the Spaniards were always on the lookout to surprise and capture Charleston; and, in 1706, a combined force of French and Spaniards attacked the city. Although the colony was suffering from a scourge of yellow fever, Governor Nathaniel Johnson and those of the settlers able to bear arms repulsed the invaders and drove them off.⁸

⁷ Four proprietary governors stand out in favorable contrast to the rest. These were: Joseph West; John Archdale, a Quaker, who succeeded, like Penn, in living at peace with the Indians; Charles Craven; and Nathaniel Johnson.

⁸ The Indian wars furnished the theme to William Gilmore Simms for his tales of frontier life, and the "famous fighting names" of South Carolina first became prominent at this time, such as,—Moultrie, Laurens, Marion, Middleton, Pickens, Barnwell, and others.

The cultivation of rice was begun very soon after settlement. It became a leading industry, and many negro slaves were imported for work in the lowlands. The cultivation of indigo was encouraged by means

Sources of
wealth

of a special bounty granted by the British Parliament; but success in raising it was

uncertain until Eliza Lucas, a young South Carolina girl, showed how the plant should be cultivated. After



General James Oglethorpe, founder of Georgia. Like William Penn, Oglethorpe was a man of original ideas; and, like Penn, he carried them out, with a large measure of success, in America. Oglethorpe died July 1, 1785.

her discovery, the industry was a source of great wealth to the province until it was supplanted by the raising of cotton.

The last of the thirteen English colonies was founded in 1733, and was called *Georgia*, in honor of George II, the second of the British kings in the German, or Hanoverian, succession. For some time, the English had hoped to establish a colony on the still unoccupied strip of coast between the colony at Charleston and the

Spaniards in Florida; but emigrants desirous of going to America wished to go to settlements already

established. Hence, it came about that Georgia owes her origin to the genius of

Beginnings
of Georgia

a great man who had conceived a new plan to help his fellow-men. This man was General James Edward Oglethorpe; but, in order to understand his idea, it is necessary to review customs and laws of that day now happily in disuse.

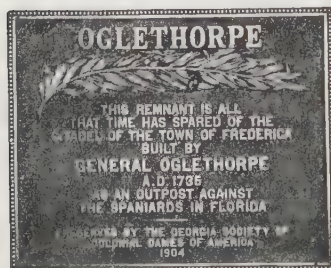
It has been seen that William Penn set up a government which limited the number of death offences and provided laws for the improvement of prisons. We have had humane laws for so long that we do not realize how harsh the old laws were. In the days of Penn and Oglethorpe, a person might be hanged for any one of a hundred or more minor offences against the law. Furthermore, a man could be thrown into prison for debt, even though he had fallen behind in payment because of ill health or other mis- Oglethorpe
and his great
idea
fortune.⁹ Oglethorpe conceived the idea of freeing this class of prisoners and giving them a fresh start in life in the New World. Other settlers, also, were to be welcomed; and he especially desired to offer homes in America to a number of German Protestants, who were then being persecuted in their own country. Consequently, Oglethorpe led over to America a group of families, to the number of 116 emigrants. These built a settlement which they called Savannah, eighteen miles from the mouth of the river of that name. For protection against the Spaniards, forts were immediately constructed, and a treaty was made with the Indians by which land for settlement was secured.

Oglethorpe was among the earliest of those who opposed the African slave trade and slavery, so that he prohibited the importation of slaves into the new colony. But after some years' trial, it was found that Europeans sickened and frequently died in the

⁹ Penn himself was thrown into prison for debts incurred in establishing the colony of Pennsylvania.

low-lying rice fields of the South; while, under the same conditions, negro laborers thrived and were free from the fevers to which the whites so readily fell victims. In order to compete, therefore, with their more successful neighbors in South Carolina, the Georgia colonists removed restrictions against slavery.

Attempt to
prohibit
slavery



From Avery's History of the United States
and Its People
Courtesy of The United States History
Company, Cleveland

Tablet marking the site of the fort at Frederica, a town planned by Oglethorpe, "with wide streets crossing each other at right angles." Oglethorpe also planned to have rows of orange trees along the streets.

To the struggling little colony, this fleet must have seemed like another "Invincible Armada." The Spaniards felt assured of victory, and had planned, after defeating the Georgians, to proceed to attack South Carolina. Oglethorpe, however, handled his little force so well that, at the close of a struggle known as the battle of Bloody Marsh, the Spaniards were glad to retire; and, except for Indian attacks, which were often stirred up by the

Spaniards
attack the
settlement

Spaniards, the colony was thereafter in no serious danger from Spanish aggression.¹⁰

Story of Virginia Settlements from Massacre of 1622 to French and Indian Wars.—The first permanent settlement at Jamestown was just twelve years old in 1619, when we left Virginia to tell about the coming of the Pilgrims to New England and the beginnings of the other English colonies. The peace with the Indians which followed the marriage of Pocahontas lasted for several years and lulled the colonists into a feeling of security. But no natives of North America were more cunning and treacherous than the powerful Algonquin tribes of Virginia. Opechancanough, an old man, succeeded his brother Powhatan, the father of Pocahontas. Opechancanough Indian
Massacre of
1622 hated the white invaders of his country with a deadly hatred. Knowing their superiority in open battle, he determined to surprise the scattered planters in their homes and exterminate them. Accordingly, he sent many of his savage warriors into the settlements, where they were entertained by the planters. Upon the morning of April 1, 1622, the day fixed by Opechancanough for the massacre, the slaughter began in hundreds of homes at once. The “friendly” Indians who had sought shelter with the settlers the night before now arose to kill them at

¹⁰ Noteworthy in Georgia history was the effort made by John Wesley to convert the Indians to Christianity. He returned to England and began the great religious movement which led to the founding of the Methodist church. Wesley was followed by the noted Methodist leader, George Whitefield, who traveled and preached in all the colonies.

their morning meal or at their work in house or field. Men, women, and children were alike slaughtered; and perhaps few or none would have escaped, had it not been for warning sent to some of the colonists by Chanco, an Indian convert to Christianity, and by natives of the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake.¹¹

The Virginia colony by this time was strong enough to stand this blow. Although about half the
Vengeance of the English settlers were slain, the survivors attacked the Indians with vigor and success until Opechancanough humbly sued for peace, and the final effect of the massacre was an extension of territory open to settlement.¹²

During the Civil War in England (1642 to 1649),
Attitude of Virginians towards events in the mother country the colonists of Virginia were inclined to side with Charles I against Cromwell and the Parliamentary party. At the same time, the Virginians resisted royal authority whenever the king's governors attempted to interfere with their exercise of self-government. One of these

¹¹ The Indians on the east bank of the Chesapeake, the present "Eastern Shore" of Virginia and Maryland, were of a remarkably peaceful nature. They feared the Powhatans and paid them a kind of tribute; but they were separated by the broad waters of the Chesapeake from the savage wars of the inland tribes. The fertility of the soil of the "Shore," the abundance of fish and game, as well as the milder climate, made milder natures. Their principal chieftain of early colonial days, Debedeavon, was called by the English "The Laughing King."

¹² Opechancanough planned a second great massacre in 1644. At that time, he is said to have been 100 years old. He was captured and slain; his warriors were defeated; and their villages were destroyed.

governors, John Harvey, irritated the colonists so much that they deposed him and sent him back to Charles I in care of two members of the House of Burgesses; and the fact that the king arrested the Burgesses and restored Harvey did not lessen the spirit of liberty in the colony.



Goodrich's Great Events of American History

THE "AGED CHIEF" OPECHANCANOUGH BEING BORNE IN A LITTER TO THE LAST GREAT MASSACRE OF THE WHITE SETTLERS IN VIRGINIA, 1644

The triumph of the Puritan, or Parliamentary, party in Great Britain caused a great many of the "Cavaliers," as some of the adherents of the king were called, to emigrate to Virginia. Possibly, Cromwell was as glad to see the Cavaliers leave Old England as Charles I had been when many of the Puritans departed for New England. In both cases, "England's loss was America's

Immigration
of the
Cavaliers

gain." Among the names of Cavalier families who came to Virginia at this time, we find those of Washington, Madison, Monroe, Tyler, Marshall, Randolph, and many others that were destined to take a splendid part in shaping the beginnings of a great free Republic.

In each colony, we find that the people were not all devoted to freedom and self-government. Some would ally themselves with a tyrannical governor and, for a time, succeed in depriving the people of some of their privileges. Such was the case in Virginia under Charles II, the Stuart king to whom the throne had been restored in 1660 after the period of the "Protectorate" under Oliver Cromwell and his son Richard. Charles II re-appointed Sir William Berkeley to the governorship of Virginia and ill repaid the loyalty of "Old Dominion," as he called the colony, by giving to his court favorites monopolies or special trading privileges in Virginia products. Berkeley and his Council tried in every way to hinder free expression of political opinion on the part of the people; and, fearing injury to their fur trade, refused to give the outlying settlements protection against Indian attacks.

At last, the settlers could stand these outrages no longer. Under the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon, and without the permission of Governor Berkeley, the Indians were attacked and defeated. Governor Berkeley promptly declared Bacon a rebel and an outlaw; but the planters met at Williamsburg and, after debating the question the

Berkeley's
rule in
Virginia

Bacon's
Rebellion

greater part of a summer night under the glow of pine torches, resolved to support Bacon *even against the king's troops*. Thereupon, civil war broke out in Virginia, and no one knows what might have happened, had not Bacon died of a fever in the midst of it. Bacon's death disorganized the "rebel" forces; and, as the Indians had been subdued, one of the special grievances of the settlers had been removed; so that the followers of "the first rebel" surrendered to Governor Berkeley.¹³



Avery's History

VIRGINIA COSTUMES OF
COLONIAL TIMES

New England, from the Confederation to French and Indian Wars.—Let us now turn to the story of the New England colonies. Here, with the exception of Rhode Island, the settlements very early formed a bond of political union, which largely owed its being to the possession of a common religion. In New England, at the close of the Pequot War, there were

¹³ It is interesting to note that Bacon's Rebellion took place in 1676, one hundred years before that greater "rebellion" which led to the Independence of the thirteen colonies. Berkeley was so harsh in the treatment of the "rebels" that even Charles II rebuked him. He was recalled to England not long after the arrival of British troops sent over to suppress the "rebellion." In the struggle, Jamestown was burned down by the patriot party in order to keep the town from being used as a base by Berkeley. Two of Bacon's men set fire to their own houses. One of these was William Drummond, a Scotchman; and the other, Richard Lawrence, a scholar of Oxford. Jamestown was never rebuilt, and Williamsburg ("Middle Plantation") became the seat of government.

five separate colonies : Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New Haven, and Rhode Island. In 1643,

New Eng-
land Con-
federation

the first four formed a confederation known as "the United Colonies of New England."

The affairs of this Confederation were managed by a board, or council, of eight commissioners, two from each colony. Its purpose was to provide better security against the Indians. Therefore, the Board was given the power to call out troops from the four colonies for their general defence. The Board also afforded a kind of tribunal for the settlement of any disputes that might arise between the colonies of the Confederation. This was the first effort in our history to bring about some measure of colonial unity ;



Avery's History

PURITAN COSTUMES OF
COLONIAL DAYS

but it is important to remember that in this first partial union, no powers were given to the central Board, or Council, to interfere with the local affairs of any of the colonies concerned. *Each one was, as before, to continue in the exercise of its own, or local, self-government.*

The Civil War in England affected the history of both the New England colonies and Virginia (see p. 77), but in different ways. Puritan supremacy

New Eng-
land under
Charles II
and James
II

in England brought about the emigration of many Cavaliers into Virginia and the Southern colonies, while the restoration of

the Stuarts in 1660 drove many of the Puritans to New England. Among the fugitives in New England

after the Restoration were two of the judges who had sat in the court which ordered the execution of Charles I. The Puritans of New England protected these "regicides," as they were called, from pursuit by the emissaries of Charles II. In addition, the New England colonies offended the king by their disregard of the restrictions upon navigation and by their persecution of adherents of the Church of England. Relations between the colonies and the king became more and more strained. Under James II, the charter of Massachusetts was annulled, and Sir Edmund Andros was sent over as governor of the whole of New England.

The people of New England were very restless under the new governor, and war might have resulted, had it not been for the Revolution of 1689, when James II was dethroned and William III became king of Great Britain. Andros was promptly thrown into prison, and the old form of govern- Under
William IIIment was restored. The Massachusetts Bay colony was enlarged by the addition of the Plymouth colony and the settlements in Maine; but the Puritan leaders were required to extend to others than themselves some share in the government of the colony. The governors were to be appointed by the king.¹⁴

¹⁴ At about the time of the Restoration, the persistency of the Quakers in their attempts to preach their doctrines in Massachusetts aroused the antagonism of the Puritan leaders. Many Quakers were severely whipped or otherwise punished; and four Quakers, one of them a woman, were hanged on Boston Common.

In connection with religious persecution, mention may here be made of the Salem witchcraft delusion which prevailed some

In 1675-'76, the colonists of New England faced the greatest of their wars with the Indians. In this war, Philip, the son of the Plymouth settlers' former friend, Massasoit, was now their chief enemy. By



Goodrich's Great Events of American History

Attack on Brookfield, Massachusetts. Just as the Indians had pushed a cart filled with burning hemp and flax against the "garrison-house," a sudden shower put out the fire, and the Indians were driven away by a rescue party from Lancaster.

this time, the Indians had obtained guns and ammunition from the whites and had learned to use them; so that they had become a more dangerous foe than

years later. In 1692, a score of persons suffered death before it was realized how foolish it was to condemn people on the charge of witchcraft, especially when these charges were made by children and, in one case, by an Indian servant, all of whom pretended to have had fits or spells cast upon them by the so-called witches.

At the same time, it should be remembered that in those days many people, both in England and America, believed in witchcraft. See, for instance, Addison's *Sir Roger de Coverley Papers*.

ever. Under the leadership of Philip, the various Indian tribes destroyed twelve towns, and forty others were attacked. Philip had planned a great league of Indian tribes; but, fortunately, the whites discovered in good time that the strong tribe of the Narragansetts was plotting to join him. The settlers promptly marched ^{King Philip's War, 1676} against the half-prepared Narragansetts, whom they attacked in their great stronghold in the swamp lands at South Kingston, Rhode Island. One thousand, or nearly a third, of the Narragansett warriors were slain in this single battle. Finally, in 1676, Philip was shot, and his wife and son were sold into slavery, together with scores of others. The power of the Indians was broken, and they ceased to be a menace to the settlements until some of them, leagued with the French, attacked the English colonies in the great struggle for the control of North America, of which we shall soon read.

POINTS OF INTEREST; SUGGESTIONS FOR READING OR DISCUSSION

The Dutch bought Manhattan Island from the Indians with some beads and trinkets worth about \$24.00. Compare this with the cost of a single great building in the heart of New York City to-day. In 1664, the rent the Duke of York was required to pay for all of New York was some "forty Beaver skins when they shall be demanded or within Ninety days after."

Early land
values on
Manhattan
Island

Women voted in New Jersey from 1776 to 1807. In Wyoming, women have voted since 1869. In Maryland, a woman asked for a vote soon after the founding of the colony. This woman was Margaret Brent, who, in 1647, was "declared by the Court and Council to be attorney in fact of Lord Baltimore, in place of Leonard Calvert, deceased." As such attorney, Margaret Brent "demanded a vote and voice" in the Maryland Assembly of 1648.

She did not get the vote she asked for; but, in 1649, the Assembly addressed a letter to Cecil, Lord Baltimore, in which was the

From Avery's History of the United States and Its People
Courtesy of The United States History Company, Cleveland

SIGNATURE OF MARGARET BRENT

following passage: "We do verily believe and in conscience report
Margaret Brent that it was better for the colony's safety at that, in her hands than in any man's else in the whole Province, after your Brother's death."¹⁵

It has been seen that the first Swedes settled on the Delaware River in 1638. Over two centuries later, the immigration of
Swedish immigration Swedes to the United States became an important factor in the development of the great farming region of the Northwest.

Penn wished to call his colony *New Wales*, after the precedents of New England, New York, and New Jersey; but Charles II
Penn's name for his colony insisted on Pennsylvania. Many Welsh names, such as *Bryn Mawr*, show an origin due to settlements by the Welsh. *Germantown* became the home of a number of Germans who secured a grant from Penn as early as 1684.¹⁶

How would you like to write an imaginative story about the fate of the "Lost Colony" of Roanoke Island? When Governor White went back to England, it was agreed that if the settlers
Fate of the "Lost Colony"? left the Island, they were to write somewhere the name of the place to which they planned to go. If they left in distress, they were to write the sign of the cross under their inscription. There was no cross found. The search for the settlers was not as thorough as it might have been, for

¹⁵ The quotations are copied from the tablet, erected in 1915, at the Margaret Brent School in Baltimore, Maryland.

¹⁶ The study of the names of places in the United States offers an extremely interesting sidelight on American history.

Governor White was not in control of the rescue expedition. The belief has been strong in North Carolina that the names and customs of these settlers have been preserved in the descendants of the Indians of Robeson County, and it is believed by many that the settlers of the "Lost Colony" intermingled with the inland natives.

The attempted settlement of Jean Ribault, 1562-'65, is interesting to us in many ways. After three years in America, the colonists built a vessel, the first constructed on the coast of North America, in order to return to France. The vessel was small and leaked terribly, and the sails were made from bed clothing. After frightful sufferings, the survivors reached England. They told stories of the wonders of the American coast, and showed pictures of Indians and American animals and plants. These were drawn by a French artist of the Ribault company by the name of Le Moyne. In the course of time, the stories doubtless aroused the especial interest of Walter Raleigh, and the pictures may have led to the appointment of the artist, John White, as governor of the Roanoke expedition.

**The French
colony at
Port Royal**

Eliza Lucas, mentioned on p. 72, is one of the most interesting characters in American history. When she was but sixteen years old, her soldier father, called to the West Indies, left her in charge of three great plantations near Charleston. In 1740, she wrote to a friend: "Lest you should imagine it too burdensome to a girl at my early time of life, give me leave to assure you I think myself happy that I can be useful to such a father. By rising very early [5 o'clock] I find I can go through with much business." Not only did she learn how to raise indigo, and thereby provide a great industry for South Carolina, the exports of which thirty-five years later *amounted to over one million pounds*, but she also set out figs, cotton, ginger, and other fruits and plants. She experimented with egg-packing in salt, established a "school for the little negroes," and learned French, shorthand, and music. Besides this, she acquired a good deal of knowledge of the business and politics of her times. She married Charles Pinckney and was the mother of the patriot leaders, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Thomas Pinckney. She died in Philadelphia, in 1793, and George Washington, then President of the United States, was pall-bearer at her funeral by his own request, in honor of her life and services.

Eliza Lucas

There are any number of interesting stories about the early

settlement of the colonies. All cannot be given or even referred to in the text or in these sidelights. Additional stories may be supplied by members of the class from their reading in historical novels or in such books as: Haggard and Dutton's, "Indians and Pioneers"; Hart's, "Colonial Children"; Lovett's, "Grandmother Stories"; together with "Stories" of the different States, and some of the books on American history in the Riverside Library for Young People.

**Suggestions
for reading**

EUROPEAN DATES FOR REFERENCE

- 1625: Beginning of reign of Charles I.
- 1642-'49: Civil War in England.
- 1649-'60: Rule of Parliament and the Cromwell Protectorate.
- 1651: Passage of the first navigation laws.
- 1660-'85: Reign of Charles II.
- 1685-'88: Reign of James II.
- 1689: English Revolution, and accession of William and Mary.

CHAPTER V

I. STRUGGLE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE FOR THE CONTROL OF NORTH AMERICA: II. LIFE IN COLONIAL TIMES

Rise and Fall of New France.—In the preceding chapters we have followed the founding and early history of each of the English colonies. The story has touched but little upon the growth in North America of another great power. This power was France. While the English were extending their settlements along the Atlantic seaboard, the French had established settlements and trading posts throughout Canada. They sought to extend their control southward over the great area west of the advancing frontiers of the English. France, under Louis XIV, had taken the place of Spain as the strongest power on the continent of Europe. Like Spain, she sought to secure large possessions in the New World.

Decline of
Spain and
rise of
France

In 1608, one year after the founding of Jamestown, a little band of French colonists under Samuel de Champlain established a settlement upon the great rock of Quebec. From that point, French fur-traders, soldier-settlers, and Jesuit missionaries began to extend the French colonies and influence westward and southward until they clashed with the English. In this clash the Indians held, for a time, the balance of power. The French adapted themselves to the

usages of the natives and readily made alliances with the Indian tribes; but, as early as 1609, they earned the enmity of the Iroquois by helping the Algonquin tribes in battle against them. This enmity of the "Five Nations," as the northern Iroquois were called, hindered the southward expansion of the French into New York, the control of which province was recognized by both English and French as being most likely to turn the scale in the struggle between them.¹

Beginnings
of New
France



COSTUMES OF FRENCH SETTLERS IN
AMERICA

At the time of which we write, the Alleghany Mountains formed a mighty barrier to the westward progress of English settlement. Five rivers cut through that barrier; but, for some time, the Hudson, with its tributary stream, the Mohawk, offered the easiest way to the western lands. The "Five Nations" controlled this Hudson-Mohawk region, and Governor Andros of New York saw the need of further strengthening the early treaties with these powerful tribes. He, therefore, in 1677, called together representatives of the three colonies of Virginia, Maryland, and New York to meet the Indians in a conference at Albany. A strong alliance was made with the Iroquois against the French; and this confer-

The treaty
with the
Iroquois

¹ For stories of New France, see the end of this chapter.

ence may be called another step towards united action against a common foe on the part of a group of colonies, the first being the Confederation of four of the New England colonies formed in 1643. (See p. 80.)

War broke out in 1690. In Count Frontenac, the French and their Indian allies had an exceedingly able commander, so that the first seven years of border fighting resulted in disaster for the English. The latter sent expeditions against Quebec and Montreal; but, owing to the skilful preparations of Frontenac, nothing of importance was accomplished. On the other hand, many English towns, such as Schenectady in New York, and Haverhill and Groton in Massachusetts, were attacked or destroyed by parties of French and Indians. No frontier settlement was safe. In New York, so successful was Frontenac that he broke the power of the Iroquois and forced them to sue for peace. The war, known as King William's War, lasted until 1697. In America, the English had been worsted.

French
successes,
1690-1697

In 1702, war again broke out in Europe, followed by war in America. Again the English settlements suffered greatly. The attacks of the French and Indians were made often at night and the inhabitants were either killed or carried off to be cruelly tortured. Again, an English expedition was sent against Quebec. This also failed; but a force sent against Acadia was successful, and that province passed into the hands of the English and was called by them *Nova Scotia*. A strong force of French and Spanish sent against Charleston,

The French
defeated in
Nova Scotia
and at
Charleston

South Carolina, was defeated with heavy loss to the invaders. The French, therefore, lost in Nova Scotia and South Carolina; but they sent expeditions to make good their claims in the central west as far north as Detroit and as far south as Mobile.

A truce which lasted for thirty years was arranged in 1713 between the warring nations, but the rival claims of France and Great Britain had not been settled; so, in 1743, war broke out afresh. For a time, the chief centre of conflict was in the north-east. The French began to attack the English possessions in Nova Scotia in an effort to retake them. In this they were unsuccessful, and the English colonists sent out an expedition under William Pepperell, of Maine, which re-
Capture of
Louisburg
deemed the earlier failures by the capture of the French stronghold of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island. This expedition was managed by, and made up of, New England militia and volunteers. Great was the indignation of the colonists, therefore, when they learned three years later that the mother country had given back Louisburg to France in exchange for Madras in India.

Peace between the warring powers was made in 1748; but a few years later, the conflict in America broke out anew. This time it offered new scenes of combat, and a final decision was reached. The French were encroaching upon the claims of Pennsylvania and Virginia at the head-waters of the Ohio River, where they were preparing to erect a chain of forts from Lake Erie southward. The colony of Virginia

promptly took up the challenge. The first messenger sent by Governor Dinwiddie to warn the French had turned back, "afraid" of the terrors of the long march through the wilderness and the prospect of Indian ambush. Dinwiddie then selected Major George Washington to perform the difficult task. Washington was only twenty-one years old; but he was already favorably known for courage, good judgment, and industry.² Although he started out in the beginning of winter, Major Washington successfully made the trip to and from the headquarters of the French, at that time within a short distance of Lake Erie. He barely escaped capture by the savage allies of the French on his return trip; and made his report to Dinwiddie that the French would not yield their claims to the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi.

Governor Dinwiddie now prepared for action without waiting for a formal declaration of war by Great Britain against France. Among the colonies there was as yet no united action, even against danger from the French in the west. Dinwiddie wanted it; Governor Shirley of Massachusetts wanted it; and Benjamin Franklin in Pennsylvania spoke for it. But the Quakers of Penn-

Major George
Washington
carries a
message to
the French

Dinwiddie
prepares for
war

² As a boy he had surveyed the estate of Lord Fairfax, which then embraced about a third of the western part of the present State of Virginia. He had done his work well, and, though a number of surveyors were employed for special work as the years went by, a noted lawyer said long afterwards that the *only surveys on which he could depend were those made by sixteen-year-old George Washington.*

sylvania would not approve of war measures; Massachusetts was too far away; and the other colonies were not inclined to help.³

Major Washington was sent out again to western Pennsylvania, but this time he was accompanied by an armed force. The French sent out an advance body towards Washington's camp at Great Meadows; but Washington did not wait for an attack. He chose forty men and, marching through a heavy rain at night, surprised the French. After a short fight, the latter were killed or captured. Washington had fired the first shot of a war which was not to cease until New France should be added to the British colonial possessions.⁴

The first
shot

New France had soldiers rather than settlers, and the government also had absolute power in directing military movements. Hence, the French could send men to the front more quickly than the English. Washington received no reinforcements and found

³ The people of the colonies, especially New York, were then engaged in disputes with their respective governors. The colonial assemblies were inclined to hold up all war supplies, together with the salaries of their governors, until they were granted some measures of self-government which they demanded.

⁴ Washington and the colonial troops engaged in the struggle with France were to learn something of the art of war. The skill then acquired was to be pitted against the British empire; and France was destined to be their ally. Horace Walpole, the noted British author, said of this fight: "A volley fired at Great Meadows in 1754 by a young American from the backwoods of Virginia set the whole world on fire. Not only England and France were affected by it, but every country in Europe was touched, and it settled forever the supremacy of the English over the French on America's soil."

himself surrounded by superior forces of the enemy. He was compelled to surrender, but he had prepared so well for resistance that the French thought it wise to give him very honorable terms of capitulation. This happened on July 4, 1754. Washington's first campaign had failed, and he and his men returned to Virginia. The French

Washington
forced to
surrender,
1754



Defeat of Major-General Edward Braddock. The British were massed in a narrow road and finally almost surrounded by an unseen foe. Braddock had four horses shot under him in an effort to save the day. Had Braddock followed the advice of Washington and the colonial troops, the disaster may have been averted.

now established themselves more firmly at Fort Duquesne, on the present site of Pittsburgh.

In the following year, reinforcements from Great Britain reached America. Major-General Braddock,

one of the most famous British officers of that day, was sent over to Virginia with two regiments of "red-coats" to drive the French from the Ohio Valley. Braddock, however, knew nothing about fighting in the backwoods of America, and despised his colonial allies and the Indians for shooting from behind rocks and trees. He gave no heed to the advice of Washington; and, not far from Great Meadows, he led his men into a French and Indian ambush. Two thirds, or over 800, of the British forces, were cut down, and it was chiefly due to Washington that the remainder escaped. The brave but haughty Braddock was mortally wounded; and the French, for some time, held undisputed possession of the Ohio Valley.

Braddock's
defeat, 1755

The French now fell upon the English settlements in New York. At first, they met defeat at the battle of Lake George; but, under the brilliant leadership of the Marquis de Montcalm, they regained the ground they had lost and inflicted a series of defeats upon British and colonial troops.

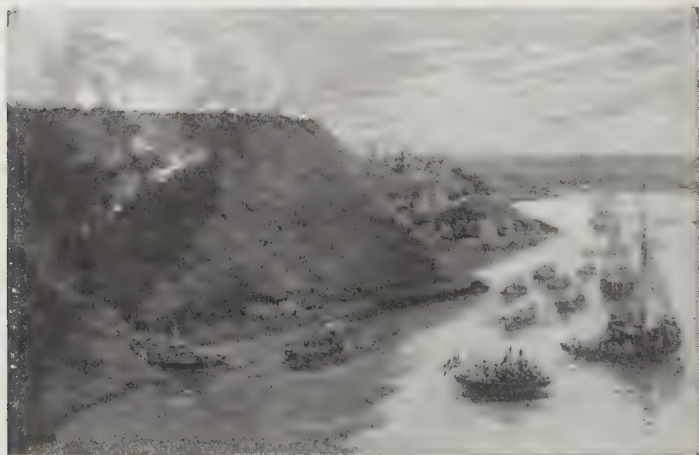
English
reverses in
New York

In 1758, however, the strong hand of the great William Pitt, appointed British Secretary of State in the previous year, began to be felt in America as well as in Europe. Pitt removed incompetent generals and corrupt officials. One after another, under his energetic direction, the French strongholds fell; Louisburg was again captured; Forts Niagara and Ticonderoga in New York fell; and Fort Duquesne passed into English hands and was named Fort Pitt. Even the great Montcalm was

French
reverses

forced to retire into what seemed to be the impregnable stronghold on the heights of Quebec.

The capture of this "citadel of New France" was effected by the youthful General James Wolfe, who, after a summer of vain endeavor before the high cliffs of the fortress, found at last a possible path by which to scale the heights. During the night of September 13, 1759, his forces passed the French



THE HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM

The Heights of Abraham, where the brave and able Marquis de Montcalm fell, together with the equally brave and daring General James Wolfe, September 3, 1759.

sentries and silently climbed the cliffs of the St. Lawrence until by daybreak he had formed his troops for battle on the heights above. Here, on the Plains of Abraham, as the battle-ground was called, the last great fight for New France took place. Both Montcalm and Wolfe fell, mortally wounded while leading their men; one rejoicing that

Capture of
Quebec

he did not live to see the loss of Quebec, and the other declaring that he died happy in the news of British victory.⁵

Western Expansion.—It must be remembered that, while the struggle with France was going on, settlers from the English colonies were ever pushing westward. They broke through the Alleghany barrier in places other than the Hudson-Mohawk valleys; and hardy pioneers were soon blazing trails along the gaps made by the Susquehanna, the Potomac, and the James rivers. Some of the westward-moving people represented an overflowing of the original population of the English colonies; but a great number of these pioneers were “Scotch-Irish” and German and Swiss emigrants.

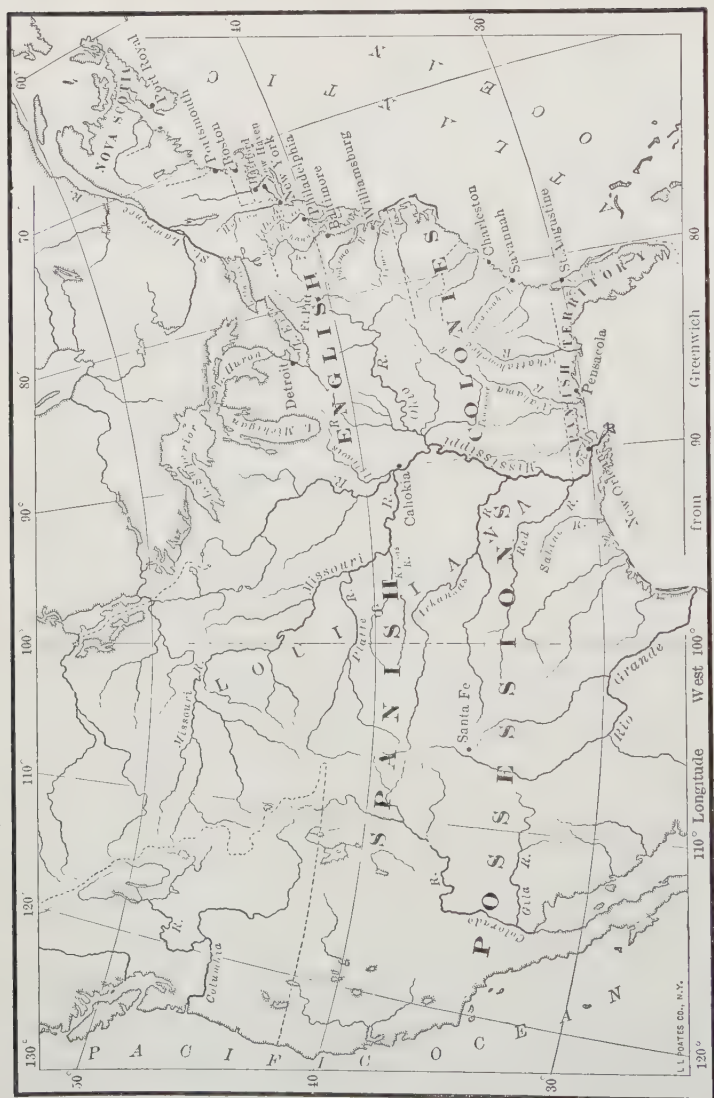
Extending
the frontier
of the
English
colonies

The term “Scotch-Irish” refers to Scotch Presbyterians who, in the seventeenth century, had moved to the north of Ireland. Like the Pilgrims in Holland, they were not all contented in their new home. Thousands of them, therefore, emigrated to America. Especially from Pennsylvania southward, they helped to extend the frontier of the English settlements. It has been estimated that half a million of these sturdy, thrifty people came to America between 1725 and the outbreak of the American Revolution.

Coming of
the Scotch-
Irish

In addition to the “Scotch-Irish” immigration in the first and middle periods of the eighteenth century, there was another of Germans, second only in num-

⁵ To-day, at Quebec, there stands a single monument in memory of both the victor and the vanquished.



MAP SHOWING THE ENGLISH COLONIES AND THE SPANISH CLAIMS AFTER THE FALL OF NEW FRANCE

bers to that of the Scotch-Irish. Like the Scotch-Irish, the Pilgrims, the Quakers, and others, these Germans sought greater freedom and liberty in America: for their own country was harassed by war; and religious persecu-^{Early German immigration}tions, at that time common in all the European nations save Holland, were added to political troubles. Some of these people of German stock settled as far south as Georgia and some in the Mohawk Valley in New York, but the greater number settled in Pennsylvania. Like the Scotch-Irish, they moved westward and extended the borders of civilization in America.⁶

This westward movement of the white settlers aroused the Cherokee Indians in the south, the north-western tribes under Pontiac, and the Indians of the middle west under Cornstalk and Logan. After numerous massacres of the whites, the Cherokees were defeated by the Carolinians; and the Indians stirred up by Pontiac met a disastrous defeat at the battle of Bushy Run in western Pennsylv-^{Indian wars}ania. In western Virginia, Cornstalk was defeated at Point Pleasant on the Ohio River in a battle that is of special importance because it opened the way for the settlement of Kentucky and for the

⁶ The Scotch-Irish, the Germans, and other pioneers very soon began to turn their steps southward from the head-waters of the Susquehanna and the Potomac into the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania and Maryland and into the valley of the Shenandoah in Virginia, between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany Mountains. For some reason, the Germans of Pennsylvania became widely known in the colonies as the "Pennsylvania Dutch."

control of the northwest by Virginia during the Revolution and, later, by the United States.⁷

Life in the Colonies.—Throughout the preceding pages, we have seen how wonderfully the colonies were growing and how America welcomed the oppressed peoples of European countries. But the most remarkable thing about the colonies was their development of the principles of self-government—of *government by the people*. They developed these principles to a far greater extent than any other people in the world. This has already been shown in the story of the struggle of each of the colonies with its proprietary, or Royal governor. In our early history, the first united action on the part of the colonies arose not from any desire for union, but from their fear of a common foe. First, we have the confederation of four New England colonies against the Indians; second, the Albany conference of New York, Maryland, and Virginia, called together to make a firmer alliance with the Iroquois against the French; and third, the united action of all the colonies against British encroachments upon the self-government which had been so long enjoyed by the colonies.

In the practice of the principles of self-govern-

⁷ The whites engaged at Bushy Run were several companies of regular troops under the Swiss soldier, Colonel Henry Bouquet. These regulars, like those under Braddock, had not seen Indian warfare before. But Bouquet guarded against surprise; and after the battle had begun, he deceived the Indians by feigning defeat. The ruse threw the savages off their guard and they were badly beaten.



Child Life in Colonial Days, Earle

Courtesy Macmillan Co.

John Quincy, dressed in the costume worn by a child of colonial New England. When, over seventy years later, John Quincy died, his baby great-grandson received his name. This baby was John Quincy Adams, afterwards the sixth President of the United States.

ment, therefore, we find the English colonies very much alike. In religion, occupations, and social customs, however, there were sharp differences. Since, in many cases, the form of religion in the several colonies had much to do with the form of their government; and, since the adherents of the various religions had been accustomed to fight over their differences in the Old World, it could not be expected, for example, that such strongly Puritan colonies as those of New England would regard with favor the Quaker ideas in Pennsylvania, or Episcopal domination in Virginia. On the other hand, it may be easily understood that the Church of England adherents in Virginia were inclined to distrust the Puritans of New England. Happily, such prejudices between States and sections have long since passed away; but the fact that this once existed has to be kept in mind, if we are to understand the early history of our country.

Differences
in religion

The principal occupations and the manner of living varied in the different colonies. In New England, the settlers lived in closely knit settlements, and great attention was paid to gatherings of the people in church and town meetings. The people were largely engaged in agriculture; but they often found greater profit in trade, commerce, ship-building, fishing, and so forth. Because of the township life and because of the natural bent of the Puritan mind towards study and discussion, schools were more numerous in New England than elsewhere in America, printing presses more com-

Modes of
living

mon, and here were issued the earliest books and newspapers.

Although all the American colonists had advanced wonderfully in the practice of democratic ideas as compared with such progress in the Old World, social distinctions were still observed in a way that would seem very remarkable to us to-day. Pupils at Harvard College, for example, were not catalogued in alphabetical order, but according to their social rank or position in their respective communities. In the south, the people lived far ^{Social} ^{customs} apart and devoted themselves to agricultural pursuits, although the cities of Baltimore, Charleston, and Savannah were engaged in active commerce. Transatlantic vessels arrived regularly at smaller ports in North Carolina and Virginia and carried on no little trade with the mother country; for it must be remembered that North Carolina and Virginia were leaders among the colonies in population, just as New York and Pennsylvania are leading States in population and influence to-day.

In colonial times, travel and trade were rendered most difficult by the wretched condition of the roads. Several days were consumed in getting to and from such important centres as Philadelphia and New York. Consequently, few of the people saw much of their fellow-Americans in other colonies, and this fact hindered union or united action. Paper money issued by the colonies varied in value, and coins of every nature were in circulation. Frequently they were clipped,

Inter-
colonial
trade and
travel;
currency

and many were cut in two. Tools, implements, and instruments of every kind were hard to get and when once secured, they were much prized by their owners.⁸

The young people who read this volume may feel that they have good cause, in some respects, at least, to be glad that they were not born and brought up in colonial days. The philosopher, John Locke, who tried so hard to prepare a "model" form of government for the colonies (p. 67), wrote also a book of directions for bringing up children, and his instructions seem to have been widely followed. Locke thought, for example, that children should wash their feet, even in the most wintry weather, in ice-cold water, and that their shoes should be so thin "that they might leak and let in the water." He believed that children should not eat melons, peaches, plums, or grapes. Apples he approved of *after* October. A number of very interesting books have been written describing the home life, the school life, and the hardships of colonial times.⁹

Old views on
bringing up
children

POINTS OF INTEREST; SUGGESTIONS FOR READING OR DISCUSSION

Robert de La Salle was one of the greatest of the explorers of "New France." His discoveries and explorations covered the

⁸ George Washington and his companion, Christopher Gist, on their return from delivering their message to the French, constructed "with but one poor hatchet" the raft on which they crossed the Ohio River just in time to escape capture or death by hostile Indians. Old wills made careful mention of the separate articles of household equipment, down to skillets and frying pans.

⁹ To the teacher: Perhaps the most interesting series of volumes on colonial life and customs has been written by Sydney George Fisher and Alice Morse Earle.



Child Life in Colonial Days, Earle

Courtesy Macmillan Co.

This child, Daniel Ravenel, was born in South Carolina a few years before the birth of John Quincy's namesake mentioned under the foregoing picture. This stiff dress is described as "especially pleasing for a little child."

whole of the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley, from the source of the "Father of Waters" to the Gulf of Mexico. In 1669, he discovered the Ohio and Illinois rivers. Ten years later, he launched the first vessel ever seen on the Great Lakes. In 1682, he reached the mouth of the Mississippi and claimed all the great central region from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains in the name of Louis XIV, after whom he named it *Louisiana*.

**La Salle and
Louisiana**

Pontiac (see p. 99) won many victories over the English just before the American Revolution, and it is believed that he had a share in the defeat of Braddock near Great Meadows. After the overthrow of New France, Pontiac resented the transfer of the western forts to the English and he was secretly encouraged by French Canadians to resist the transfer. In 1763, he organized a great league or confederation of Indian tribes. He besieged and captured eight out of twelve fortified posts. Among the four posts saved was Detroit. Pontiac was finally compelled to sue for peace, and he was slain by another Indian, bribed to kill him, it is said, by the promise of a barrel of rum.

Pontiac

The story told of Hannah Dustin affords a good example of the horrors of Indian warfare. In 1697, when Haverhill, Massachusetts, was attacked, Mrs. Dustin's husband was in a field at work. Near him were seven of his children. Suddenly, the Indian war-whoop was heard and he saw that the Indians had cut him off from his house. Seizing his gun, he mounted his horse and told his children to run ahead of him while he held the Indians at bay until they could reach a fortified house. The savages entered Mrs. Dustin's house, killed her youngest child, a baby, and seized Mrs. Dustin and her neighbor, Mary Neff. These two women and a boy, who also was captured in this raid, were given over to a party of twelve Indians. The boy knew the Algonquin language, and, on the way to Canada, overheard the Indians discussing how they were going to torture their captives. The boy told Mrs. Dustin, and that brave woman planned to escape or die in the effort. Watching their chance, the three captives surprised the savages at night and killed all but two of them. They thus saved themselves from torture and death and returned to the English settlements in safety.

**Hannah
Dustin**

George Washington's older brothers were sent to England

for their education. George was educated at one of the simple "field schools" then scattered throughout Virginia. He was careful in his studies and excellent in outdoor sports and exercises. Before he had begun to go regularly to school, George often wrote to his friend, Richard Henry Lee. Here is a part of one of these letters written when he was but nine years old:

A letter from
George
Washington
at nine years
of age

"Dear Dickey I thank you very much for the pretty picture-book you gave me. Sam asked me to show him the pictures and I showed him all the pictures in it; . . . I can read three or four pages sometimes without missing a word. Ma says I may go to see you, and stay all day with you next week if it be not rainy . . .

"Your good friend,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"I am going to get a whip top soon, and you may see it and whip it."

Sometimes, we hear how foolish are modern fashions and dress; but when we read descriptions of the dress and customs of colonial times, we cannot help feeling that fashions are less "foolish" than they used to be. Mr. Sydney George Fisher writes, in *Men, Women and Manners in Colonial Times*, that Philadelphia was a great centre of colonial gayety: "Nowhere were the women so resplendent in silks, satins, velvets, and brocades, and they piled up their hair mountains high. It often required hours for the public dresser to arrange one of these head-dresses, built up with all manner of stiffening substances and worked into extraordinary shapes. When he was in great demand just before a ball, the ladies whom he first served were obliged to sit up all the previous night and move carefully all day, lest the towering mass should be disturbed."

A comparison
in fashions

The picture on page 101 gives the dress of a boy who afterwards became a noted man. No boy of to-day would feel happy in any such costume as that—but, in the matter of styles in wearing apparel, girls suffered more than the boys. In "Child Life in Colonial Days," Alice Morse Earle quotes from a description by Anna Green Winslow of her party dress when she was twelve years old: "I was dress'd in my yellow coat, my black bib & apron, my pompedore shoes, the cap my aunt Storer sometime since pre-

Anna
Green
Winslow and
her "party
dress"

sented me with blue ribbins on it, a very handsome locket in the shape of a hart, the paste pin my Hon'd Papa presented me with in my cap, my new cloak & bonnet on, my pompedore gloves, and I would tell you they all lik'd my dress very much."

Her hair was dressed over a high roll, so heavy and hot that it made her head "itch & ach & burn like anything." Of her "headgear," she writes: "When it first came home Aunt put it on & my new cap on it; she then took up her apron & measur'd me, & from the roots of my hair on my forehead to the top of my notions, I measur'd above an inch longer than I did downwards from the roots of my hair to the end of my chin."¹⁰

ENGLISH DATES FOR REFERENCE

1689-1702: Reign of William and Mary.

1702-'14: Reign of Anne.

1714-'27: Reign of George I.

1727-'60: Reign of George II.

1760: Accession of George III.

¹⁰ Suggestions for reading may be varied according to the needs of the class. There is no need here for repeating suggestions made in the text or foot-notes of this chapter and those preceding it.

CHAPTER VI

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE COLONIES AND THE MOTHER COUNTRY TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Parliamentary Taxation and Colonial Resistance.—

The year 1689 marks a great turning-point in the history of England. It marks the final overthrow of the Stuarts and of their theory of "the divine right of kings." It marks, also, the beginning of the era when the British Parliament was to assert its rulership at home and in colonial affairs. In the American colonies, the changes were not at once so noticeable. Whether the people of the colonies lived under charter control, or under a governor appointed by proprietor or king, they largely managed their own affairs through their respective assemblies. They did not greatly care whether king or Parliament ruled in the mother country, so long as they were let alone to govern themselves.¹

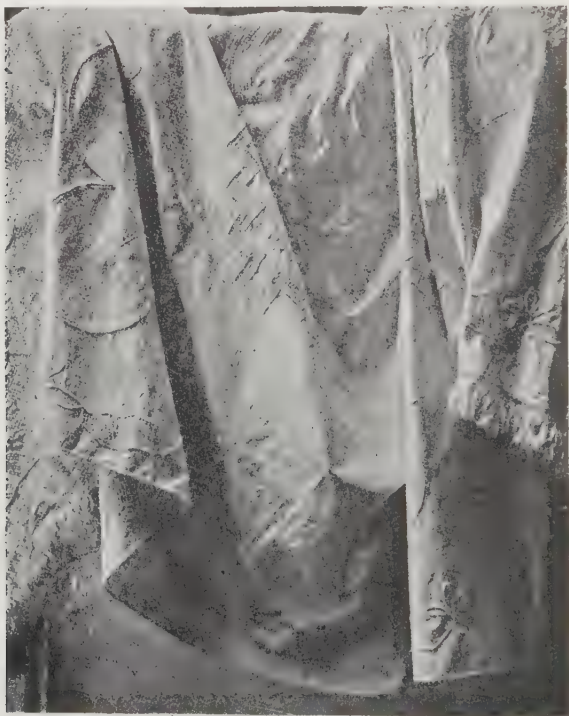
The year
1689 in
British and
American
history

From the first, we have seen that the settlers resented the arbitrary acts of James I and II and of Charles I and II. It was Parliament, however, that had in Cromwell's time passed the first of the series of *navigation acts* which,

The
navigation
acts

¹ To the teacher: After the union of England and Scotland under James I in 1603, the term *Britain* or *Great Britain* is insisted upon by those who maintain that *England* does not technically include Scotland. The latter less exact term is still the more popular one, however, and consciously or unconsciously, it is used to refer to the union of England, Scotland, and Wales.

re-enacted at different times, later proved such a grievance to the colonists. These acts required the colonists to export what they produced on British



Howard M. Lovett's *Grandmother Stories*

A colonial counterpane, made by Rebecca Rogers, daughter of one of the patriot soldiers of the Revolution under Colonel Elijah Clarke, of Georgia.

ships, to sell the same to British merchants, and to buy manufactured goods from British merchants. The navigation acts, therefore, gave the British merchants a double monopoly: they limited the market for the colonies in both buying and selling. Trouble

would have arisen at once between the mother country and the colonies but for the fact that these laws were not strictly enforced during a period of a hundred years. Great English ministers of state thought the laws unwise and even winked at the evasion of them by the colonists.²

The war with France closed in 1763 in a way highly favorable to British arms. "New France" in America had been added to the British colonies, and the latter were thereby freed from the menace of border warfare. But wars, whether successful or unsuccessful, are expensive, and Great Britain found herself burdened with debt. Her government and merchants began to consider how the colonies, which had so benefited by the outcome of the war, could be made to pay a part of its expense. With this effort on the part of the British government, there begins a new era in American history—a twelve-year period of protest preceding the outbreak in 1775 of armed resistance to British authority.

British
argument for
colonial
taxation

² It is only fair to the government of Great Britain to remember that throughout Europe the view then prevailed that colonies were dependencies under the protection of the mother country; and that, in return for protection or tutelage, they should be a source of profit to the mother country. The fact that the Spanish colonies had enriched Spain was constantly before the minds of the British merchants, many of whom had sunk fortunes in American colonization and enterprises. The British regulations provided, also, that the colonial products should have a monopoly in the British market. Furthermore, British colonial policy was more liberal than that of other European countries; so that, from a British point of view, the American colonists had exceptional privileges.

In the British ministry, under George III, two men may be held chiefly responsible for the measures by which it was proposed to tax the colonies, and for the manner in which these measures were presented. These men were Charles Townshend and George Grenville. Townshend proposed, among other things, that the colonies should be taxed by *act of Parliament* instead of *through the colonial assemblies*; and that money should be raised for the maintenance in the colonies of a British army of defence.³

Attitude of
British
ministry

With this end in view, Parliament, in 1764, passed a tariff law or trade tax which, although it placed a duty on a number of other products, became known as the *Sugar Act*. The tariff on sugar and molasses was greatly reduced; but now the king and Parliament determined that the tax *must be paid*. As the Act would particularly affect the trade of the New England colonies, a meeting of protest was called in Faneuil Hall, Boston, before the tax should go into effect. The principal figure at this meeting was Samuel Adams, a member of a family which has been prominent in American history from that day to the present. Adams expressed the chief reason for opposition to the tax in the following words: "These

³ To the teacher: It should be noted that the British ministry proposed that the colonial governors *receive their pay from the crown*. The latter would thus become independent of the colonial assemblies, which had frequently withheld the governors' salaries if the governors' acts were out of accord with the colonial views of what was right.

unexpected Proceedings may be preparatory to new Taxations upon us; for if our Trade may be taxed, why not our Lands? Why not the produce of our Lands, and everything we possess or make use of?" He added that such action on the part of the British government overthrew the charter *right of the colonists to govern themselves.*



FANEUIL HALL

Presented to Boston by Peter Faneuil as a market-house and a town-hall or meeting place. In 1761 it was destroyed by fire, but was rebuilt two years later.

At this meeting, Adams brought up again the idea of colonial union, which had been urged by Benjamin Franklin ten years before during the French and Indian wars. Adams rightly felt that a united protest to the British authorities would have

more weight than the separate objections of the several colonies affected by each new tax.⁴

Just as the Sugar Act was about to go into effect, excitement in the colonies was increased by the passage, in 1765, of the *Stamp Act*. This Act provided that all public documents, such as wills, deeds, and mortgages, and even newspapers and pamphlets, should have put on them a revenue stamp varying in

The Stamp
Act, 1765

value from a few cents to fifty dollars. Vehement protests now rang out from several colonies. This time Patrick Henry "sounded the alarm bell" of protest in the Virginia House of Burgesses at Williamsburg. In his resolutions before that body, he declared that only the General Assembly of the colony, together with the king or his governor, had "the right to lay taxes and imposts upon the inhabitants of this colony."

Protests just as determined and convincing as those of Henry, Adams, and Otis came from patriots in the other colonies. These protests resulted in further efforts toward united action by all the colonies

⁴ Prior to the passing of the Sugar Act, Massachusetts had been aroused to protest against *writs of assistance* issued by the British Courts. These writs gave power to the British revenue officers to enter private houses in search of smuggled goods. They were eloquently opposed by James Otis, of Massachusetts, who declared in 1761 that it was an exercise of authority which had already "cost one king of England his head and another his throne." The writs were not enforced; but their enforcement was constantly threatened and this caused great irritation. In 1763, Patrick Henry, of Virginia, voiced a similar sentiment when he said that arbitrary acts by royal authority forfeited obedience on the part of the people.

in protection of their rights. At the call of Massachusetts and South Carolina, representatives from some of the colonies met in New York in October, 1765. The protest they prepared was similar in expression to the resolutions of

Stamp Act
Congress,
New York,
1765

Patrick Henry denying the right of Parliament to tax the colonies at all, although, at first, the colonies did not deny that the British government had the right to impose tariffs on *foreign* goods coming into American ports. It has been often said that the cause of the Revolution was "taxation without representation." This statement is misleading. The Stamp Act Congress of 1765 made it clear that it was the opinion of that body that the colonies could not be taxed in the manner proposed, unless they were represented in Parliament; but the resolutions also stated that *it was impossible for the colonists to be so represented.*



JAMES OTIS

Born in Massachusetts, 1725; graduate of Harvard; wrote and spoke in defence of colonial rights against Parliamentary taxation; died 1783.

The resistance to the sale of the revenue stamps in the colonies was so violent that the agents appointed to sell the stamps dared not offer them. Parliament forthwith repealed the Act; whereupon the joy of the colonists was so great that no notice was taken of the declaration made by Parliament that it *reserved the right* to tax the colonies if it saw fit to do so.

Repeal of the
Stamp Act

After the repeal of the Stamp Act, Parliament passed what are known as the *Townshend Acts*. These Acts provided for special tariffs on glass, paper, lead, paints, tea, etc. The tariff on each article was, perhaps, a moderate one; but the fact that Parliament again insisted on its right to levy taxes and on using the revenue to pay the salaries of British officials in America roused the colonists to resistance just as in the case of the previous acts.⁵

The
Townshend
Acts, 1767

Again, Parliament felt obliged to yield, and the new Acts were repealed. The tax on tea only was maintained. This tax was a very light one and the king and Parliament hoped that the colonists would submit to it. *In that case, the principle of taxation by Parliament would be established.* But the colonists were just as shrewd as the

The tea tax,
1773

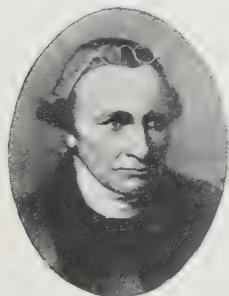
⁵ The colonists were further aroused and irritated by the quartering of British troops in Boston and the efforts of Parliament to force soldiers upon New York and other places. In January, 1770, two days of rioting followed an attempt by soldiers to cut down a liberty pole in New York.

In March of the same year, a Boston mob threw missiles at British soldiers in front of the custom-house, daring the "red-coats" to fire. The soldiers did fire and killed five of their assailants. This affray has become known as the "Boston Massacre." It served to arouse intense feeling against British soldiers and officials. The soldiers, in this case, had great provocation; and, to the credit of Boston, John Adams and Josiah Quincy publicly defended the soldiers when they were tried for their act.

In North Carolina, on May 16, 1771, a pitched battle occurred between the Royal Governor Tryon and a band of "Regulators." Nine of Tryon's men and many of the Regulators were killed. The fight occurred on Great Alamance Creek, and is sometimes referred to as the "Battle of Alamance."

British authorities and they determined to resist the tea tax, not because it was a hardship, but *because it involved the principle of self-government in America.*

The tax on tea seems a very little thing; but it was a little thing that involved a great principle, and the way that the colonists met the issue illustrates better than anything else, perhaps, the spirit of freedom that had developed in America. Parliament not



PATRICK HENRY

Born in Virginia, 1736; colonial leader in resistance to Parliamentary taxation; as first Governor of Virginia, sent out George Rogers Clark to win the Northwest from the British. Died 1799.

only had lowered the duty on tea, but it also had arranged that if the tea were bought from London merchants, the colonists could get it cheaper, even with the tax, than it could be bought anywhere

Resistance to
the tea tax;
"tea
parties."

else. Shiploads of tea were then sent from Great Britain to leading seaports in the colonies; but the people of the colonies had bound themselves not to buy or drink the tea. At New York and Philadelphia, the vessels bearing the tea

turned back without unloading, and the London merchants thereby saved those cargoes. In Boston, men disguised as Indians boarded the tea ships at night and threw the tea overboard. At Annapolis, a number of his neighbors compelled Anthony Stewart, a Maryland importer, to set fire to his own vessel because it had a cargo of the obnoxious tea on board. At Charleston, the tea was seized by the citizens of that port and stored away, to be brought out some

years later and sold for the benefit of the State troops in the War for Independence.⁶

The British merchants who had suffered the loss of the tea stirred up the officials of the British government, so that the ministry resolved to proceed to



THE BOSTON TEA PARTY

more severe measures against colonists who destroyed private property and openly defied the acts

⁶ The emptying of the tea casks into Boston harbor has gone down in history as "The Boston Tea Party." The Annapolis episode is known as "The Burning of the *Peggy Stewart*." These were the acts of men; but the women of the colonies were just as determined as the men. One incident has been called "The Ladies' Tea Party"; for the London newspapers of the day reported that fifty-one ladies of Edenton, North Carolina, had adopted resolutions to abstain not only from drinking tea, but from using any British goods until the unjust taxation should be removed.

of Parliament.⁷ That body passed, in 1774, what the Americans called "The Intolerable Acts." These were: (1) The Boston Port Bill, which closed the port of Boston to commerce until the tea destroyed there should be paid for; (2) the Massachusetts Government Act, which was intended to deprive Massachusetts of the self-government she had so long enjoyed; (3) the Administration of Justice Act, which provided for the trial in England of all British officials accused of murder in Massachusetts; (4) an Act for the quartering of British troops in Boston; and (5) the Quebec Act, which was to shut off the western expansion of the colonies by including more of the territory west of the Alleghanies in the Canadian province of Quebec.

The
"Intolerable
Acts," 1774

Four of these Acts were aimed at the colony of Massachusetts. The British authorities knew that previous efforts to secure united action by the colonies had failed and they thought they could treat with Massachusetts separately. In this, they proved to be greatly mistaken; for the other colonies forgot their former jealousies and declared that they *would make the cause of Massachusetts the cause of all alike*. The day on which the Boston Port Bill went into effect was made a day of fasting and prayer in Pennsylvania and Virginia. South Carolina sent 200 barrels of rice to Boston; and George Washington

⁷ It should be remembered that the destruction of the tea was one of a number of defiant acts. In 1772, citizens of Rhode Island shot a British officer on board the revenue vessel *Gaspee* and burned the ship. The *Gaspee* had been offensively active in spying out smugglers.

said: "If need be, I will raise one thousand men, subsist them at my own expense, and march to the relief of Boston."



TABLET ERECTED TO COMMEMORATE THE "LADIES' TEA PARTY"

The colonies faced a serious crisis. Virginia had not been represented at the Stamp Act Congress of 1765; but she now took the lead in calling a meeting

of what became the *First Continental Congress*. This Congress, including representatives from all the colonies except Georgia, met at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. It prepared petitions to be sent to the king and to Parliament, in which the members united in declaring the right of the several colonies to govern and tax themselves. Resolutions of sympathy for Massachusetts were passed, and it was agreed to urge the people not to buy or use British goods until Parliament should repeal its oppressive acts.

**First
Continental
Congress,
1774;
petitions and
resolutions**

Beginnings of Armed Resistance.—In Massachusetts, events were rapidly shaping themselves, and force was preparing to meet force. General Gage, in charge of the British regulars at Boston, was constructing fortifications; while, in the country around, companies of “minute-men” were forming. Early in the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, General Gage sent a force of eight hundred men to arrest Samuel Adams and John Hancock at Lexington, and to destroy or capture munitions of war at Concord. The British attempted to slip away from Boston at night; but warning was flashed from a church belfry to Paul Revere at Charlestown. Revere by one route and William Dawes by another, mounted their horses and set out to warn the minute-men of the country-side.⁸

**Attempted
arrest of
Samuel
Adams and
John
Hancock**

Adams and Hancock were warned in time to escape capture. At Lexington, the British met a

⁸ On the way from Lexington to Concord, Revere was captured by British scouts; but Dawes rode on to Concord.

number of the minute-men who had begun to gather there. Major Pitcairn ordered these to disperse; but

**Lexington
and Concord,
April 19,
1775**

firing began, and seventeen of the minute-men were killed or wounded. The British troops then hastened to Concord to carry out their orders to destroy the military stores at that place. They found, however, the people so thoroughly aroused, that, after some fighting at Concord, a retreat was ordered. All along the route, the "red-coats" were fired upon by the Massachusetts minute-



AMERICAN SOLDIER
IN THE UNIFORM OF THE
CONTINENTAL ARMY

men, so that had not reinforcements and artillery come up from Boston, the entire British force must have been killed or captured. War had begun—not for independence as yet, but in the form of armed resistance to British authority.

After the British retreat from Concord, the colonial militia closed in upon Boston, where the British troops were commanded by Generals Gage, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne. Two reports of the Lexington-Concord fighting were sent to Great Britain:

**News of
conflict
received in
Great
Britain**

one from Salem by the patriot party, and the other from General Gage at Boston. The provincial report reached London first; and Benjamin Franklin, American agent there, received, from people in England, about \$1000 (modern values), for the widows and children of the Americans killed. Gage's report, however, put things in a different light and increased the deter-

mination of Parliament and the king to put down resistance in the colonies.

In the meantime, Ethan Allen and the "Green Mountain Boys" of Vermont seized Fort Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and other fortifications on the New York border and sent their cannon and munitions to the patriot army in front of Boston.

**Ticonderoga
seized,
May 10**

On the night of June 16, nearly two months after the first shots at Lexington, an American detachment under Prescott, Putnam, and Warren was sent to seize Bunker Hill on the Charlestown peninsula north of Boston. In the morning, the British awoke to find that their control of the city was threatened. Howe and three thousand

**Battle of
Bunker Hill,
June 17**

British regulars were sent forward to dislodge the provincial volunteers. The latter were poorly provided with powder and shot; but they were instructed to make the best use of what they had and to hold their fire until the British were close upon them. Twice were the British repulsed and sent back down the hill; but the powder supply of the Americans began to fail, and when the British charged for the third time, the Americans were driven off the field.⁹

Although it resulted in final defeat for the American militia, the fight at Bunker Hill was helpful to the American cause in many ways. The first repulse of the British regulars gave the provincials confidence, while it gave the "red-

**Effects of the
battle**

⁹ The Americans fortified Breed's Hill. At first, the battle was known by this name.

coats'' a respect for intrenched American troops which they never wholly forgot. Moreover, the British loss in killed and wounded amounted to more than twice that of the Americans.¹⁰

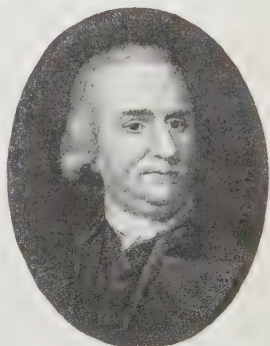
It is now necessary to turn to Philadelphia, where the Second Continental Congress had assembled on May 10. This time *all* the colonies were represented. The patriot party felt that they were fighting for their rights

Meeting of
Second
Continental
Congress,
1775;
Washington
made com-
mander-in-
chief

against British authority; but they wished *still to remain loyal to the British king*. They simply denied the authority

of Parliament to make laws for them; and they hoped that the king would acknowledge this right and that British public opinion would force a change of ministry. George Washington was a member of this Congress; and, at the suggestion of John Adams, he was made commander-in-chief of the Continental forces.

Washington's appointment was made just before the Battle of Bunker Hill; and he hastened to take command of the troops besieging Gage in Boston. He found that his greatest task was to preserve discipline in the new army and to maintain an



SAMUEL ADAMS

Born in Boston, 1722; was graduated at Harvard, 1740; a leader in resistance to rule of Parliament. The attempt to arrest Adams and Hancock led to the first bloodshed at Lexington. After the Revolution, he was, like Patrick Henry, an ardent supporter of State rights and was opposed to establishing a powerful Federal government. Died 1803.

¹⁰ The British loss in killed and wounded was over a thousand men, 157 of whom were officers. The American loss was 449.

effective fighting force. Months passed without decisive action; but Washington finally seized Dorchester Heights, south of Boston. Cannon placed on these heights commanded the city, whereupon the British, recalling their losses in storming the American intrenchments of Bunker Hill, abandoned Boston and sailed for Halifax. The British left Boston in March, 1776; and in New England there was no further fighting of serious moment throughout the Revolution. The scene of conflict shifted to the middle and southern colonies, where the war was continued, with varying success, for five more years.

Before the British gave up Boston, fighting of importance had already taken place in Virginia and North Carolina. In both colonies, the patriot party gained the upper hand and drove out the Royal governors. In Virginia, Governor Dunmore endeavored to rouse the Indians and the negroes against the colonists. To the negroes, he issued a proclamation in which he promised them their freedom if they would rise in insurrection. Dunmore burned the greater part of Norfolk; but his forces were defeated at Great Bridge, December 9, 1775.

British give
up Boston,
1776



HENRY LAURENS

Born in Charleston, South Carolina, 1724. Merchant of London and Charleston; in England, in 1774, he advised Parliament against Boston Port Bill; returned to South Carolina; president Continental Congress, 1777-'78; appointed, 1779, United States minister to Holland, but was seized *en route* by British and confined in London Tower; exchanged for Cornwallis; was signer of treaty of peace with Great Britain. Died 1792.

Fighting in
Virginia,
1775-'76

In North Carolina, as early as May, 1775, the citizens of Mecklenburg County declared British government suspended. On February 27, 1776, the patriot party badly defeated a large force of Tories at Moore's Creek Bridge. This victory prevented an invasion of North Carolina by the British under Sir Peter Parker; for the latter had expected to join the Tories at Wilmington on the Cape Fear River.¹¹

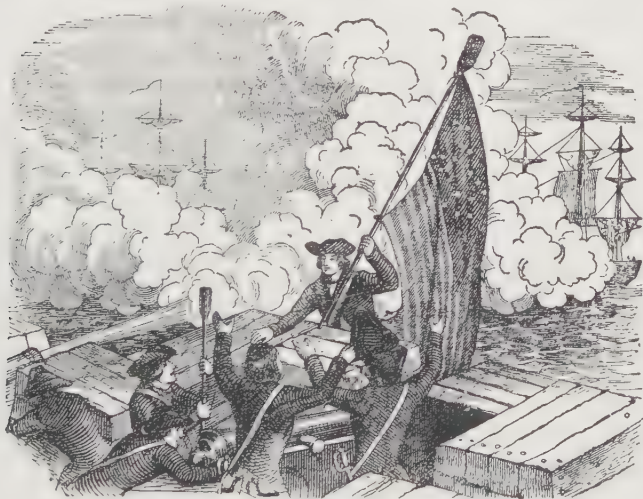
In South Carolina, the patriot party, under the leadership of Henry Laurens and Governor Rutledge, acted promptly. After the victory of the patriot party at Moore's Creek Bridge in North Carolina, the first British invasion in the south was directed at Charleston, South Carolina. On Sullivan's Island in Charleston harbor, Colonel William Moultrie constructed a rude fort made of palmetto logs. With twelve hundred men and about thirty cannon, he calmly awaited the attack of the English fleet with several thousand men and over two hundred guns, although a former British officer of high reputation then serving in the Continental army predicted that the fort would become "a slaughter pen" in less than an hour. On June 28, 1776, the British fleet began its bombard-

**In North
Carolina**

**British
repulsed at
Charleston,
June 28, 1776**

¹¹ The term *Tories* was applied to those Americans who remained loyal to the British government. In some of the colonies, they were sufficiently numerous to create a condition of civil war. Some of them committed outrages; and, after the Revolution, thousands of them were driven out of the colonies, although many of them would have accepted the new order of things in good faith and would have made good citizens of the Republic.

ment. For ten hours, all the guns of the fleet were fired at the fort and its defenders; but the balls sank almost harmlessly into the soft palmetto. While Moultrie sat within, coolly smoking a pipe, the American gunners carefully used to best advantage their limited supply of powder, and riddled the best



Sergeant Jasper replacing the flag at Fort Moultrie under the fire of the British fleet, June 28, 1776. In 1779, Jasper fell, with the flag in his arms, in the French-American attempt to take Savannah from the British.

British ships. After Sir Peter Parker had been badly wounded and his flagship had been made almost a wreck, the British fleet and landing force withdrew in defeat, with the loss of a twenty-eight-gun ship, which the Americans burned. The result was a glorious victory for the colonial troops and it happened just as the Continental Congress at Philadelphia was deciding to issue the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

POINTS OF INTEREST; SUGGESTIONS FOR READING OR DISCUSSION

In the British Parliament, two of the most notable defenders of the colonies were Isaac Barré and Edmund Burke. The former spoke of the colonists in their resistance to the Stamp Act as "Sons of Liberty," an expression which was promptly caught up in America. Burke's famous "Speech on Conciliation," made in March prior to the fighting at Lexington and Concord, is still studied in this country as a model of oratory, and as a defence of the position taken by the colonies.

Governor Tryon, who ordered the troops to fire on the North Carolina "Regulators" at Alamance (p. 116), was afterwards the Royal governor of New York. Before the Revolution, he offered a reward of about \$1000 for the capture of Ethan Allen, who led the "Green Mountain Boys" in seizing *Ticonderoga* (p. 123). Tyron later brought forward a scheme to seize or assassinate George Washington.

At the siege of Boston, Washington was joined by men from the Valley of Virginia, where, as a boy,

**Daniel
Morgan**

he had made his first surveys for Lord Fairfax.

The men were clad in rude fringed hunting shirts and the Massachusetts militia at first laughed at them. But they were splendid fighters, and they soon commanded respect in spite of their clothes. Their leader, Daniel Morgan, had served under Braddock as a teamster. After Braddock's defeat, a British lieutenant, offended at something Morgan had said, struck him. Morgan immediately knocked the officer down, whereupon he was sentenced to receive 500 lashes. Morgan was a natural leader of men; later, he commanded an American army in one of the best planned battles of the Revolution (p. 147).

Many of the personal letters of John Adams and his wife,



ABIGAIL ADAMS

Born Abigail Smith at Weymouth, Massachusetts, 1744. Wife of John Adams, second President of the United States. Her letters, preserved and published, are full of interest. Died 1818.

Abigail, have been preserved. Here is part of a letter Mrs. Adams wrote to her husband just before the battle of Bunker Hill. It shows that the expression "pin money" meant a good deal at that time: "I have a request to make of you; something like the barrel of sand. I suppose you will think it, but really of much more importance to me. It is, that you would send out Mr. Bass, and purchase me a bundle of pins and put them in your trunk for me. The cry for pins is so great that what I used to buy for seven shillings and sixpence are now twenty shillings, and not to be had for that. A bundle contains six thousand, for which I used to give a dollar; but if you can procure them for fifty shillings, or three pounds, pray let me have them."

**Letter
written by
Abigail
Adams, 1775**

On May 29, 1775, John Adams wrote to his wife from the Continental Congress at Philadelphia: "Colonel Washington appears at Congress in his uniform, and, by his great experience and abilities in military matters, is of much service to us. Oh, that I were a soldier! I will be. I am reading military books. Everybody must, and will, and shall be a soldier."

**Letter from
John Adams
to his wife,
1775**

Here is a letter, dated October 13, 1774, from little John Quincy Adams, who afterwards became the sixth President of the United States:

"Sir,—I have been trying ever since you went away to learn to write you a letter. I shall make poor work of it; but, sir, mamma says you will accept my endeavors, and that my duty to you may be expressed in poor writing as well as good. I hope I grow a better boy, and that you will have no occasion to be ashamed of me when you return. Mr. Thaxter says I learn my books well. He is a very good master. I read my books to mamma. We all long to see you. I am, sir, your dutiful son,

**Letter from
seven-year-
old John
Quincy
Adams,
Oct. 13, 1774**

"JOHN QUINCY ADAMS."

We often hear people speak of the *signing* of the Declaration of Independence on July 4. This is not strictly correct. It was not signed by the delegates generally until August 2 and after. It was, however, *adopted* by the Continental Congress on July 4, and we celebrate that date as the birthday of this Republic.

**Why we
celebrate
July 4**

CHAPTER VII

THE REVOLUTION—FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE TREATY OF PEACE

FOR over a year, the people of the colonies were fighting British soldiers and resisting the laws of Parliament. At the same time, they were declaring their desire to remain loyal subjects of the British king. The king, however, upheld Parliament in its efforts to interfere with the self-government so long enjoyed by the colonies. The assemblies of the various colonies, which, since 1775, had been governing themselves as if they were independent States, instructed their delegates to the Continental Congress formally to declare their independence. Accordingly, on July 2, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, as a representative of Virginia, moved, "*That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States.*" John Adams, representing Massachusetts, seconded the motion, and the form of the final resolutions, or the *Declaration of Independence*, with its statement of colonial grievances against the British government, and the reasons for separation from that government, was drawn up by Thomas Jefferson and adopted by Congress on July 4.¹

¹ To the teacher: The Declaration of Independence is printed as an appendix. Some, at least, of the grievances enumerated there may, at this time, be reviewed or read in class.



THE BROOKLYN BATTLE MONUMENT

Monument at Prospect Park, Brooklyn, erected by the Maryland Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, in honor of four hundred troops of the Maryland Line who saved the American Army from capture in the battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776. Of these four hundred, Major Gist and but thirteen men escaped death or capture.

July 5, the day after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, marked the beginning of the invasion of the middle States by the British forces which had sailed from Boston to Halifax. Under General Howe, these forces seized

The battle of Long Island, Aug. 27, 1776

Staten Island, New York; and on July 12 they were joined by the fleet which had been repulsed at Fort Moultrie. Many Hessian and other troops arrived from Europe; so that Washington, who had expected this attack upon New York, was called on to face a much superior force. He sent part of his army to hold Brooklyn Heights on Long Island; but these

troops were attacked on the 27th of August and routed by overwhelming numbers of the enemy, who had quietly moved upon their right flank and rear. Perhaps the only thing that saved the American force from annihilation was a spirited charge by four hundred Maryland troops under General Stirling.²

General Putnam, in command of the American troops on Long Island, had allowed himself to be outflanked and surprised; but, under cover of a foggy night, Washington succeeded in rescuing the remainder of the American force. Some weeks later, after

Washington
forced out of
New York
City

spirited encounters at Harlem Heights and other places, Washington retreated southward into New Jersey. The American commander-in-chief found both New York and New Jersey full of those who remained loyal to the British authority. In addition to this Tory element, he was troubled by the interference of Congress. Practically against Washington's direction to abandon it, Congress directed General Greene to hold Fort Washington, which had been constructed on the east bank of the Hudson. Howe attacked the fort on November 16 and captured nearly 3000 American troops.

The failure of an officer to bring up the force under his command compelled Washington to retreat across the Delaware into Pennsylvania. By the mid-

² *Hessians* was a term used in the Revolutionary War to mean hired or mercenary soldiers employed by Great Britain to subjugate the colonies. Many of these soldiers came from Hesse-Cassel, one of the small States in central Europe. The petty princes of these States would sell the services of their subjects to any one who would pay for them.



MAP SHOWING POINTS OF IMPORTANCE IN THE NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE STATES CAMPAIGNS

dle of December, the patriot army had almost dwindled away; and the British forces, as they lay in winter quarters, confidently expected the patriot cause to collapse by spring. Washington, however, chose Christmas night as the time most suitable for a surprise attack upon that part of the British army encamped at Trenton. *Of three divisions of his army directed to cross the*

Victory at
Trenton,
Dec. 26, 1776



Washington's army crossing the Delaware on the night of December 25, 1776. On the following day, Washington surprised the British at Trenton and turned a period of gloom into one of rejoicing and hope for the cause of American independence.

Delaware, the one led by Washington in person alone succeeded. Washington's division struggled several hours amidst the floating ice of the Delaware, and the men began their march before daylight through a storm of snow and sleet. Trenton was reached, not at dawn, as intended, but several hours later. In a short but sharp encounter in the streets of the town, the Americans killed or captured nearly the entire British force of 1500 men, besides taking much-

needed cannon and small arms. Washington had written Congress on December 20 that, "unless something is done, ten days more will put an end to the existence of this army." Although his two other divisions had failed him, *something was done* within ten days, and that something caused Lord Germain to exclaim in Parliament some weeks afterwards: "All our hopes were blasted by that unhappy affair at Trenton."³

A few days later, Washington, leaving his campfires burning at Trenton, slipped away from before the overwhelming force of Cornwallis and struck a British detachment a stunning blow at Princeton. Although Cornwallis had previously boasted that he "had at last run down the old fox," Washington was now free to march northward in what the British had felt was their "reclaimed province of New Jersey." Washington went into winter quarters among the hills around Morristown and the British fell back to guard their military stores at Brunswick. From this new vantage point, Washington hoped to prevent the union between Howe's forces in New Jersey and those of Burgoyne then attempting to come south from Canada by way of the Hudson Valley.

Princeton,
Jan. 3, 1777;
winter
quarters at
Morristown

In the summer of 1777, Howe attempted to move overland to Philadelphia; but, finding Washington's army in front of him, he embarked his forces and

³ Among the names of Americans at Trenton, we find that of Lieutenant James Monroe, afterwards President of the United States. Lieutenant Monroe was wounded in capturing the British cannon,

sailed out to sea and up the Chesapeake, landing near the head of the Bay. At Brandywine Creek, he outflanked and defeated the American forces, September 11. Congress fled to Lancaster and to York, and Howe entered Philadelphia in triumph.

**Battle of
Brandywine
Creek;
British
capture
Philadelphia**

In October, Washington planned to surprise the British at Germantown somewhat as he had surprised them at Trenton. The attack began successfully; but a heavy fog caused confusion in the American forces, and the venture

**Battle of
Germantown,
Oct. 4, 1777**



WINTER QUARTERS AT VALLEY FORGE

Here the Continental troops were barely able to sustain themselves during the winter of 1777-'78.

failed after considerable losses had been sustained.

**Winter
quarters at
Valley
Forge,
1777-'78**

Washington did not withdraw his troops in panic, and many sharp skirmishes were had with the British forces until the forts on the Delaware fell. In December, he made his headquarters at Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill River. The winter of 1777-'78 was a severe one, and

the soldiers were insufficiently provided with food and clothing. At times, the men had to sit up all night by the side of their fires to keep from freezing to death.⁴

While Howe was preparing for the march against Philadelphia, General Burgoyne, marching south from Canada, captured Ticonderoga. The farther



MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

Born in France, 1757. Officer of the Guards in France; offered services to cause of American independence, 1777, setting out from Spain in vessel equipped by himself; commissioned major-general; commanded at Brandywine; took leading part in final operations against Cornwallis. Died in Paris, 1834.

the British marched down the Hudson Valley, the more difficult it became for them to secure provisions for ^{Bennington, Aug. 16, 1777} their army; for General Schuyler, the American commander, had carried off cattle and food supplies along the proposed line of march. When Burgoyne sent Colonel Baum, with a considerable force, to get supplies at Bennington, Vermont, the latter was met by Colonel Stark and the "Green Mountain Boys" and utterly defeated.⁵

Burgoyne had hoped to meet at Albany a British force moving eastward from Lake Ontario; but this

⁴In the fighting around Philadelphia, we first hear of the brilliant young Frenchman, Marquis de Lafayette. At Valley Forge, John Marshall, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, helped greatly to keep up the spirits of the men by his wit and good nature.

⁵Before the engagement, Stark is reported to have said, pointing to the British: "There they are, boys; we beat them to-day, or Molly Stark is a widow."

force was defeated by General Herkimer and Benedict Arnold. Finding his supplies running low, Burgoyne was forced to attack the Americans at Bemis Heights. This attack came near being wholly successful, owing to the incompetency of General Gates, who had, by order of Congress, superseded the energetic Schuyler.

Surrender of
Burgoyne,
Oct. 17, 1777



BARON VON STEUBEN

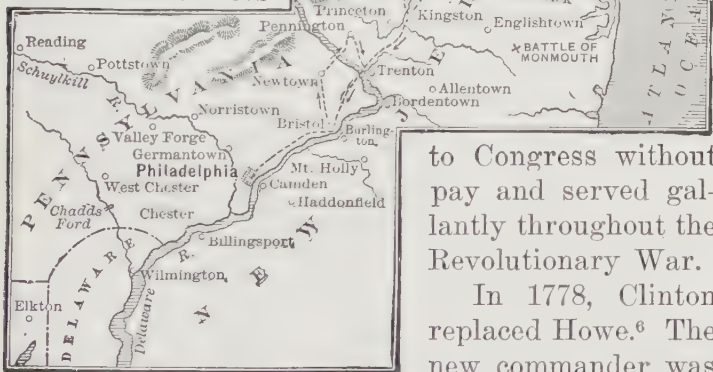
Born in Prussia, 1730. Lieutenant-general in Prussian army; tendered services to American Congress, 1777; joined Washington at Valley Forge and helped drill Continental troops; major-general at surrender of Cornwallis; retired to land in New York granted by Congress. Died 1794.

Treaty with
France,
Feb. 6, 1776;
Marquis de
Lafayette

Washington had, however, spared from his own slender forces Daniel Morgan and 500 Virginia riflemen. These men, accustomed to forest warfare, helped to bring the British into the severest straits; so that, at Saratoga, on October 17, Burgoyne was obliged to surrender what was left of his army, or about 6000 men, together with valuable military stores.

The surrender of Burgoyne was as encouraging to the patriot cause as the victory at Trenton had been the year before; but its results were more far-reaching than the previous engagement, for it encouraged France openly to offer assistance to the American confederation. A few months later, France recognized the United States as an independent republic and made a treaty of friendship and alliance with the new government. The government of France, then under the rule of the

Bourbon kings, signed this treaty, not so much from love of the former American colonies, as from its desire to weaken Great Britain, the chief rival of France in Europe. On the other hand, many of the French people were generously and sincerely interested in the fight for free government in America. Of this number was the youthful Marquis de Lafayette. He offered his services



Map showing battle-fields and campaigns in Pennsylvania and New York.

to Congress without pay and served gallantly throughout the Revolutionary War.

In 1778, Clinton replaced Howe.⁶ The new commander was ordered to proceed at once to New York. In crossing New Jersey, however, he was overtaken by Washington at Monmouth Court House. Washington ordered General Charles Lee to attack the British vigorously; but Lee was slow in moving and gave confusing orders, which

⁶ It has been alleged that Howe liked his American countrymen so well that he hated to fight against them; and, for that reason, was not active in his efforts to conquer them.

led to the beginning of a general retreat by the American forces. Just as the battle seemed about to be lost, Lafayette rushed up and reported Lee's action to his commander-in-chief. Washington at once rode forward; and, after delivering a stinging rebuke to the disobedient officer, restored the American lines and renewed the fight. In spite of this unfortunate beginning, Washington succeeded in saving the day. When night came, Clinton retired from the field and resumed his march. Washington followed the British to the neighborhood of New York and, for nearly three years, kept a vigilant watch over the British from his camp in the neighborhood of that city.⁷

Among those Americans who, even in Revolutionary times, were pushing forward the frontiers of the colonies, the name of George Rogers Clark must ever be foremost. He was one of the early settlers in the county of Kentucky in Virginia, and he conceived the plan of wresting from the British that great region extending west and northwest from the Ohio River to the Mississippi and the Great Lakes. This was once a part of New France (see p. 90); but, after 1774, it had become a part of the British province of Quebec.

George
Rogers Clark
plans to
seize the
Northwest
Territory

⁷ General Charles Lee is the officer referred to on p. 126 as having criticised Moultrie's "slaughter pen" in Charleston Harbor. He had been an officer in the British army, where he had acquired a high reputation for military skill. After Monmouth, Lee was court-martialed. He was not connected with the famous Lee family of Virginia, which was represented in the Revolution by such men as Richard Henry and "Light Horse Harry" Lee.

This territory might have remained a British province, but for the daring of Clark and the far-sighted wisdom of Thomas Jefferson, and of Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia. Clark laid his plan before Henry and Jefferson. Both approved it; and Henry commissioned Clark, in the name of Virginia, to enlist and equip the force necessary to seize the territory.

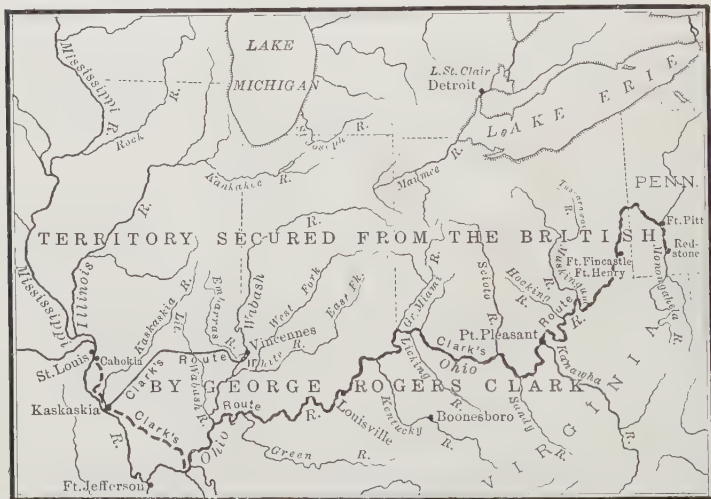
In the territory which Clark hoped to win, there were a number of important military posts under British control. From near Fort Pitt, Clark floated down the Ohio River in May, 1778, with about 150 men, on board flatboats. Opposite the present site of Louisville, he was joined by Simon Kenton with a small force of frontier fighters. Near the mouth of the Tennessee River, the expedition set out overland for Kaskaskia, where the garrison was surprised and captured on July 4. The French settlers were won over by the kindness of Clark, and the Indians were held off from possible attack; so that, in a short while, Vincennes and the other posts in the Illinois country were in the hands of Clark or his men.

Clark's first
campaign;
Pittsburgh to
the Missis-
sippi, 1778

The British governor, Hamilton, stationed at Detroit, did not remain idle. With a force of 500 British and Indians, he retook Vincennes in December. Feeling secure from attack, he waited for spring to come before driving Clark out of Kaskaskia. The latter had only about one hundred Americans and about sixty Frenchmen with him; and he wrote to Governor

Clark's
second
campaign;
Kaskaskia to
Vincennes,
1779

Henry: "Our case is desperate; we must either quit the country or attack" the enemy. Consequently, in the dead of winter, he set out to capture Vincennes in a march equal in perils and hardships to any in our history. The latter part of the route of nearly two hundred miles lay across the lowlands of the Wabash River, where the men were forced to wade in icy



MAP SHOWING ROUTE TAKEN BY GEORGE ROGERS CLARK IN THE CAMPAIGN BY WHICH HE SECURED THE NORTHWEST FROM THE BRITISH

water, often up to their necks, with scarcely enough food to sustain them. Since Hamilton was not expecting such visitors at this time, part of his force had been sent away. The remainder were attacked by Clark with so much vigor that the British garrison surrendered on February 25, 1779. Hamilton and his men were sent under guard to Jefferson, recently elected governor in place of Patrick Henry; and the

territory seized from the British was made into the county of Illinois, in Virginia.

While these events were happening on land, the sailors of the young American republic were gaining fame on the sea. The beginnings of a navy had been authorized by Congress very soon after fighting began, and John Barry was the first to be given a special command. From this

Beginnings
of the
American
navy



JOHN PAUL JONES
(From Painting by
Charles Willson Peale)

Born Scotland, 1747; sailor at age of twelve; settled in Virginia, 1773; served in American navy during Revolution; commanded *Bon Homme Richard* in fight with the *Serapis*; rear-admiral Russian navy after American Revolution. Died in Paris, 1792.

time on, besides the capture of great numbers of British merchantmen by armed privateers, the few war vessels fitted out were highly successful in duels with British ships.

Of the American commanders, John Paul Jones is the most noted. He harried the British coast and even entered

A naval
duel, 1779

the British harbor of Whitehaven.

On the 23rd of September, 1779, he was in command of the *Bon Homme Richard*, when he fell in with the British ship *Serapis*. The better guns of the British vessel

almost disabled the *Bon Homme Richard* early in the fight, while several of the guns on the American vessel burst. Firing having ceased for a short time, Captain Pearson asked if Jones had struck his colors. "I have not yet begun to fight," was the latter's reply. From time to time, the ships were lashed together, and the fight continued until the decks of both vessels ran with blood and both were on fire.

Finally, the *Serapis* was the one to haul down its colors. As the *Bon Homme Richard* was in a sinking condition, Jones and his men sailed away in the British frigate.⁸

For a period of four years after their defeat at Fort Moultrie, the British attempted no extended campaign in the south. The principal scene of conflict since that time had been in the middle States. In 1780, however, a determined effort was made to subjugate the Carolinas and Georgia. In May, 1780, General Lincoln, in command at Charleston, was forced to surrender after being besieged by land and sea. Subsequently, South Carolina suffered from the ravages of war more than any other State; and Clinton and Cornwallis outlawed all people who would not take an oath actively to support the British government.⁹

Charleston
captured by
the British,
1780



ANTHONY WAYNE

Born in Pennsylvania, 1745; served ably in Revolutionary War, rising to rank of brigadier-general; like Greene, accepted a plantation offered by Georgia and moved to that State; elected to Congress, 1791; as major-general defeated Indians at Fallen Timbers in 1794; nicknamed "Mad Anthony" for daring in battle. Died 1796.

⁸ It may be said that one bold American sailor turned the tide of battle. When all hope of victory seemed lost, this sailor crawled out to the end of the main-yard with a bucket of hand-grenades, and lighting them one by one, dropped them on the deck of the *Serapis*, where they did such damage to men and guns that the crew was thrown into a panic. Captain Pearson of the *Serapis* was afterwards knighted for his brave fight. It is said that when Jones heard of it, he remarked: "Pearson deserved it, and if I fall in with him again, I'll make a lord of him."

⁹ Savannah had been captured by the British in 1778. A combined French and American force attempted to retake the

By the summer of 1780, however, the Americans had put an army in the south to oppose the progress of the British. Washington was desirous of placing General Greene in command, but Congress appointed General Gates instead. The latter was utterly routed by Cornwallis at Camden, South Carolina, August 16, 1780.¹⁰

Gates
defeated at
Camden,
Aug. 16, 1780.

Gates did not stop his flight until he was several score miles to the rear. After the battle at Camden, he was superseded by General Nathanael Greene; but, for a while, the patriot party of the Carolinas and Georgia had to look for protection to a number of small partisan bands under Marion, Sumter, Pickens, Clarke, and other leaders, who constantly harassed the British and cut off detached parties of Tories and "red-coats."¹¹

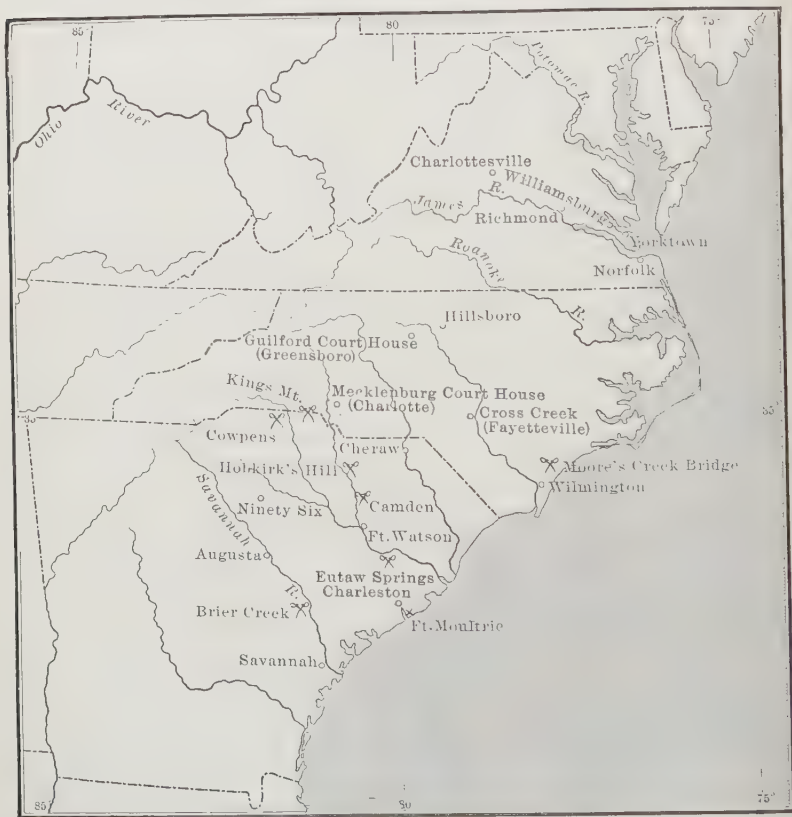
The
"partisan
leaders" in
the south

town in 1779; but the allies were defeated with heavy losses. D'Estaing, in command of the French fleet, seems to have been peculiarly unfortunate in achievement. Washington had counted on his aid to "coop up" and capture Clinton in New York after the battle of Monmouth. D'Estaing failed to enter the harbor. Later, he was engaged in an unsuccessful attack upon the British at Newport.

¹⁰ General Horatio Gates had been scheming in Congress for some time. He was the man brought forward by the "Conway cabal" (so called from the name of one of the conspirators) to supersede Washington as commander-in-chief. Gates had been an officer in the British service, and Washington had recommended him for a commission in the Continental army.

¹¹ To the teacher: A number of historical incidents connected with this partisan warfare have been published by Howard Meriwether Lovett, under the title of "Grandmother Stories from the Land of Used-to-be." Owing partly to the conditions then prevailing in the sparsely settled southern States, these incidents possess peculiar interest.

With respect to American independence, the September following the battle of Camden seemed to be the gloomiest period of the war; yet, it turned out



MAP SHOWING REVOLUTIONARY BATTLE-FIELDS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

to be "the darkness just before the dawn." At King's Mountain, on the border between North Carolina and South Carolina, a number of the patriot

leaders from the western frontier attacked the noted British leader, Ferguson, and wiped out his force of 1100 men. The victory was so decisive and the American loss so small that it encouraged the patriot party everywhere.¹²

King's
Mountain,
Oct. 7, 1780



DANIEL MORGAN

Born in New Jersey, 1736; moved to Virginia in 1753; two years later served as teamster under Braddock; in the Revolution served with distinction in New England and the Middle States; commanded at Cowpens; member of Congress, 1795-'99. Died at Winchester, Virginia, 1802.

King's Mountain became a rallying cry of the partisan leaders. The plans of Cornwallis were frustrated; and the British had to oppose larger bodies of troops under General Nathanael Greene, Daniel Morgan, and "Light Horse Harry" Lee. Morgan opened the campaign in January by defeating at Cowpens, South Carolina, a superior force of British and Tories under Colonel Tarleton. Morgan, with his back to a river, deliberately cut off his own retreat before the battle; and, then, by pretending flight

Cowpens,
Jan. 17, 1781

with his advanced line, drew the British into a trap, from which, out of a force of 1150, few escaped.¹³

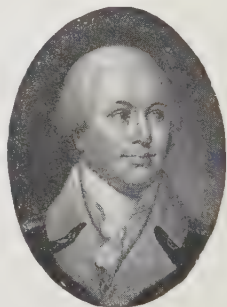
¹² The Americans were led by the frontier fighters: Campbell, Sevier, Shelby, McDowell, Williams, and Cleveland. Each one led a life full of adventure in the development of the western country.

¹³ Although having less than a thousand men at Cowpens, this was the only occasion on which Morgan was ever given an independent command in the war. At Cowpens he prepared the most ably planned and well executed engagement of the Revolution. Later, he showed equal skill in evading the heavy columns of Cornwallis, who set out at once to capture him.

On March 15, Greene gave battle to Cornwallis at Guilford Court House in North Carolina. Greene was defeated, but withdrew from the field in good order. The loss of the British was so heavy that Cornwallis saw clearly that he could not stand many more victories of that kind. Moreover, one fortified post after another fell into the hands of the Americans; and, after the indecisive engagements at Hobkirk's Hill and at Eutaw Springs, South Carolina, the minor British forces were driven back to the sea coast, until by the end of September they held only Savannah and Charleston.

Guilford
Court House,
Mar. 15

Cornwallis
in Virginia,
1781



GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Born Rhode Island, 1742; major-general in Continental Army; served with distinction in Northern, Middle, and Southern States; after the Revolution, he moved to Georgia, where he died in 1786, one year before the framing of the United States Constitution.

In the meantime, Cornwallis had marched northward into Virginia. Washington sent Lafayette to oppose his progress, and it seemed at first as if the ardent young French soldier, then but twenty-three years old, was about to be overwhelmed. As Cornwallis had said of Washington at Trenton: "I have run down the old fox at last"; so now he said of Lafayette: "The boy cannot escape me." "The boy" did escape, however; and after Colonel Tarleton's attempt to capture Thomas Jefferson and the Virginia Legislature at Charlottesville, "the boy" received reinforcements and compelled the

British to retreat to Richmond and finally to Yorktown.¹⁴

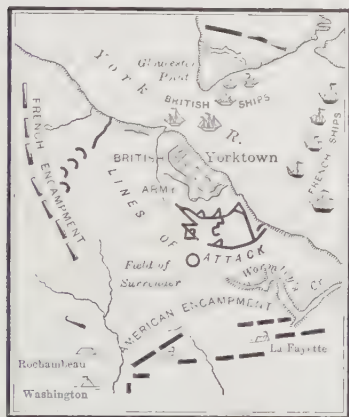
At this time, Washington had been threatening to attack Clinton in New York. He now saw that, with the aid of the French fleet, he had a better chance to defeat Cornwallis. Consequently, he moved a large part of his army as secretly and as rapidly as possible

sible from New York to Virginia.

With a superior French

**Surrender of
Cornwallis
at Yorktown,
Sept. 19**

fleet under Count de Grasse closing the Chesapeake against British reinforcements, he had caught Cornwallis in a trap. At Yorktown, the British general made a last stand; but, after fighting against the advancing



MAP SHOWING CAMPAIGN AGAINST CORNWALLIS AT YORKTOWN

ing lines of the French-American allies for a month, he was compelled, on October 19, 1781, to surrender his entire army.

The surrender of Cornwallis, preceded by a French loan to the United States, caused the British to regard the subjugation of the former American

¹⁴ Jefferson and the Legislature were saved from capture through a timely warning brought by John Jouett, who saw the British troops at Louisa Court House, suspected their errand, and rode some forty miles to Charlottesville that night.

colonies as a well-nigh hopeless task. The war ministry resigned, and negotiations for peace were begun.

**Treaty of
Peace,
1782-'83**

A preliminary treaty of peace was signed at Paris, November 30, 1782. This became final in the following year. By the terms of the treaty, Great Britain acknowledged the entire independence of her former colonies, mentioning each by name. New York City was given up by the British in November, 1783; and, at Annapolis, where Congress was then in session, Washington resigned his commission on the 23rd of December, and returned to Mount Vernon as a private citizen.

POINTS OF INTEREST; SUGGESTIONS FOR READING OR DISCUSSION

War serves to bring out the bad and the good in sharp contrast. In war, one man is seen to give up his life for his country, while another is revealed to the eyes of the world in an attempt to betray it. Yet, he who gives up his life in battle is, perhaps, not superior to the man who, sacrificing his private welfare in time of peace, regards a "public office as a public trust." On the other hand, the man who betrays his country is no worse than he who betrays a public trust for private gain. In the American Revolution, the names of two men seem to stand out in sharp contrast. These men were born in the same colony within a few miles of each other. Both were brave; but one gave his life for his country, while the other has been branded forever as a traitor.

**Patriotic
self-sacrifice
in war and
peace**

When the Revolution broke out, Nathan Hale was a school teacher in Connecticut. He soon offered himself as a volunteer to the Continental army and was promoted to a captaincy. After the American retreat from Long Island, it was important for Washington to learn something of the British plans. Captain Hale volunteered to act as spy and went into the British camp in disguise. He had secured much of the information sought; but was caught and hanged in accordance with the laws of war. Just before his death he said: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

Nathan Hale

Benedict Arnold was a military leader of unusual ability. The services he rendered the American cause in the early years of the war were excelled by none. In an invasion of Canada, he was severely wounded; and he was again wounded in New York, where he did much to bring about the overthrow of Burgoyne. But Congress did not treat him justly, he thought; hence, he determined (in the darkest period of the Revolution) to betray West Point, of which post he had command, to the British. He arranged the details of the betrayal with Major André, an officer under General Clinton. André, however, was caught in disguise within the American lines and was hanged as a spy. Arnold received warning and escaped. He afterwards fought with the British against his country, but accomplished nothing of importance.

**Benedict
Arnold**

In 1778, Parliament offered to make a number of concessions to the former American colonies. The Tea Tariff Act and the Massachusetts Government Act were repealed, and Parliament further declared it would not levy taxes in the colonies. Pitt, the great champion of the rights of the colonies, was called to the head of the ministry; but he was soon after seized with a fatal illness. In American opinion, however, the concessions came too late to restore the colonies to their former allegiance.

**Efforts at
conciliation
with the
colonies too
late**

A name worthy to rank with John Paul Jones is that of Commodore Abraham Whipple, of Rhode Island. It is claimed for him that he destroyed and captured more British ships than any other American commander. On one occasion, he disguised the frigate *Providence* and sailed, unsuspected, with a large fleet of British merchantmen. On ten successive nights, he slipped into this British convoy, secured one of the vessels as a prize, and then continued to sail with the rest as before. Eight of these prizes reached America and were sold for \$1,000,000. (*Cf.* reference to Barney, p. 196.)

**Commodore
Abraham
Whipple**

During the course of the war, David Bushnell, of Connecticut, constructed a rude kind of submarine which he called the *Turtle*. With this craft, Bushnell succeeded in getting under a British war-vessel; but he was unable properly to fasten his charge of powder and his efforts to blow up the vessel failed.

**David
Bushnell's
submarine,
1777**

When the Greeks won the world-famous battle of Marathon, a messenger of victory ran from the field to carry the news to Athens, 26 miles away. America had such a messenger in Colonel Trench Tilghman, military aid and secretary to George Washington, who set out from Yorktown to carry to the Continental Congress, at Philadelphia, the news of the surrender of Cornwallis. Going up the Chesapeake to Annapolis and crossing the Bay, he took horse in Kent County: and, as he rode by night and day, he spread the news among the people; so that at midnight of the 23d of October, the watchmen of Philadelphia cried out on their rounds: "TWELVE O'CLOCK; ALL IS WELL; CORNWALLIS IS TAKEN."

**The ride of
Colonel
Trench
Tilghman**

SUMMARY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE REVOLUTION*

Before the Declaration of Independence	The South	New England	April 19, 1775.....Lexington-Concord, Mass.	
			June 16, 1775.....Bunker Hill, Mass.	
			March, 1776.....Evacuation of Boston, Mass.	
Declaration of Independence	The Middle States	First British Campaign	December 9, 1775.....Great Bridge, Va.	
			February 27, 1776.....Moore's Creek Bridge, N. C.	
			June 28, 1776.....Fort Mifflin, S. C.	
After Declaration of Independence		Second British Campaign	July 4, 1776.....	
			August 27, 1776.....Long Island, N. Y.	
			December 26, 1776.....Trenton, N. J.	
	The South	Final British Campaign in the South	January 3, 1777.....Princeton, N. J.	
			Winter quarters at.....Morristown, N. J.	
			September 11, 1777.....Brandywine, Pa.	
	The Middle States	First British Campaign	October 4, 1777.....Germanstown, Pa.	
			October 17, 1777.....Surrender of Burgoyne, Saratoga, N. Y.	
			Winter quarters at.....Valley Forge, Pa.	
	The South	Second British Campaign	May 12, 1780.....Charleston, S. C.	
			August 16, 1780.....Camden, S. C.	
			October 7, 1780.....King's Mountain, N. C.-S. C. border.	
	The Middle States	First British Campaign	January 17, 1781.....Cowpens, S. C.	
			March 15, 1781.....Guilford Court House, N. C.	
			September 8, 1781.....Entaw Springs, S. C.	
	The South	Final British Campaign in the South	October 19, 1781.....Yorktown, Va.	

* The expedition of George Rogers Clark (1778-79); the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778; and the various engagements at sea may be made additional to the summary or listed separately.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONFEDERATION OF STATES AFTER THE REVOLUTION AND THE FORMATION OF A STRONGER UNION, TO CLOSE OF FEDERALIST PERIOD

The Critical Period Under the Confederation.—We have become so accustomed to a strong Federal government at Washington that it is now hard to realize that the central government of the States during the Revolution had little or no authority over the States or the people. From 1776 to 1783, a common fear of oppression had united a number of practically independent States. Each of them had a form of government somewhat different from its neighbors, and each was jealous of those neighbors. In the first years of the Revolution, the Continental Congresses were composed of very able men from the several colonies; but, after the Declaration of Independence was issued, Congress became weaker and weaker. Strong men wished to serve in the legislatures of their respective States, where there was real power for government, rather than in a Continental legislature which had little or no authority. There was no President such as we have to-day. There was but one house in Congress, where each State had one vote. This Congress could make a treaty, but it could not carry out the terms of that treaty; it called upon the States for money for the Continental Army, but it could not collect that money.

Weakness of
the Con-
federation

After the Revolution, when a common danger seemed removed, the States barely held together.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

This statue, designed by Dr. R. T. McKenzie, represents Benjamin Franklin as he arrived in Philadelphia from Boston in 1723. He was then a youth of seventeen, without friends or money, in a strange city. Here he followed the trade of a printer and, in time, edited and published the famous "Poor Richard's Almanack." Prominent as a colonial leader, he was, during the Revolution, the representative of the United States at Paris; later, President of Pennsylvania; member of Constitutional Convention; scientist, author, philosopher. Died in Philadelphia, 1790.

had been proposed by Parliament.

Some of them, as, for example, New York and New Jersey, Local self-government; began to wage origin of commercial State rights

war against each other as if they were different nations. Each State governed itself as it saw fit, and many of them controlled territory larger than that of the mother country. So accustomed had each State become to the management of its own affairs, that each of them feared to create a strong central government, which not only must take from the States some of their self-government, but which also might unite a majority of the States in encroachment upon the rights of the rest. Taxation by such a government might become as obnoxious as that which

The States that had no claims to western territory were jealous of their more fortunate sisters. Especially was Maryland jealous of the great western and northwestern claims of Virginia, made se-



MAP SHOWING STATE CLAIMS WESTWARD TO THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

cure by the expedition of George Rogers Clark. Maryland insisted that she would not sign the articles of confederation until these and other State claims were given up. Virginia, against the emphatic protest of Patrick Henry, yielded her claims

in 1781-'84. Other States followed suit (see map, p. 156); and it was agreed that the western territory claimed by the various States should become the property of the central government and be made into new States whenever the increase in population should justify it.¹

The States
gave up their
western
claims

The cession of their western lands by some of the States very greatly increased the desire of all for a better central government. Furthermore, the need of such a government was shown by the difficulties in dealing with foreign governments, ranging in power from Great Britain, France, and Spain to the Barbary pirates on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Additional reasons for a stronger union were presented in tariff wars between the States, while the irregular values of State and Continental currency caused many riots.²

Arguments
for a
stronger
central
government

¹ On the part of Virginia especially, this cession was the gift of an empire for the preservation of the first American union, and the act has no parallel in history. Upon this cession, Maryland agreed to sign the articles of confederation, and the first formal union was ratified in 1781.

Other State claims by charter are given in the map on p. 156. New York and Pennsylvania broke into the Massachusetts and Connecticut charter claims. The States south of Maryland had unbroken western claims to the Mississippi.

² The most noted of these riots took place in Massachusetts and is known in history as Shays' Rebellion. It is said that George III regarded these outbreaks in the States with considerable satisfaction, and believed that the Americans would be glad to come back under the protection of the British monarchy. Few European statesmen believed the American democracy could possibly succeed. They, however, did not understand the strength of character and the general intelligence of the American people, who had become used to self-government in their several communities or colonies.

As the earlier dispute between the two central States of Maryland and Virginia led to a settlement of the western claims and to the ratification of the Confederation, so now a disagreement between these two States with regard to navigation on the Potomac finally led to the gathering together in convention of many of the ablest men of all the States, except Rhode Island, to settle State differences and to create a central government that would command

The Constitutional Convention, 1787

respect at home and abroad. This great congress, known in history

as the *Constitutional Convention*, gathered at Philadelphia in May, 1787. Virginia sent George Washington, who presided over the convention, and James Madison.

Massachusetts sent Elbridge Gerry and Rufus King; New York sent Alexander Hamilton. Franklin, recently returned from France, represented Pennsylvania. From South Carolina came John Rut-

ledge and Charles and C. C. Pinckney. These and other delegates from the same and from other States sat in convention for over three months and devised a new plan of government which one of the most famous of European statesmen afterwards declared to be "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brains and purpose of man."



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Born West Indies, January 11, 1757; educated King's College, New York; one of the youngest of the colonial leaders of Revolutionary times; leader in Constitutional Convention; as first Secretary of the Treasury, put the Federal Government on firm basis; mortally wounded in duel with Aaron Burr, July 11, 1804.

The new Constitution gave real powers to the central government. It provided for a President, a Supreme Court, and a Congress; it was authorized to enforce its laws through its federal officers; it had the power to levy taxes and import duties for raising revenue; and it could regulate trade between the States. The large States and the small States had settled their differences by compromise. In the lower house of Congress the States were to be represented according to population; in the upper house (the Senate), large and small States were to be represented equally.³

A few of the provisions of the Constitution

Almost all the articles of the Constitution represented a series of compromises. After it was completed, it had to be ratified or agreed to by the several States before it could go into effect. If as many as nine should ratify it, the new government was to go into effect in at least those nine. Those who defended the Constitution when presented in each of the States were called Federalists. A number of the great leaders of the Revolution, however, among whom was Patrick Henry, opposed it on the ground that it gave too much power to the central government, which might succeed in overthrowing the self-government of the States. Henry and the anti-Federalists argued that they were contending for the very principles for which the American Revolution was begun. The Federalists contended that a stronger central gov-

Arguments for and against adoption by the States

³ Portions of the Constitution (Appendix) may here be taken up for explanation, and additional explanations may be given as to the operation of the government and its three great departments.

ernment had become a necessity, and that it would not be used to encroach upon the self-government of the States, but would protect all alike against foreign aggression.

Beginnings of the Federal Republic Under the Constitution.—Although the Constitution was completed in 1787, it did not go into effect until 1789. By that time eleven States had ratified its provisions, an election had been held, and George Washington was chosen the first President by a unanimous vote of the electors. John Adams received the next largest number of votes and became, in accordance with the method of selection then in use, Vice-President.⁴

George Washington became the first President of the United States on April 30, 1789. He selected for his advisers or Cabinet officers: Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State; Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury; Henry Knox, Secretary of War; and Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General. He appointed John Jay, of New York, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.⁵

⁴ Although two of the strongest supporters of the new form of government, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, lived in New York and Virginia respectively, these States were the last to join the Union before the government went into effect. Virginia ratified the Constitution with the proviso: "That the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them, whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression." New York made a similar proviso. North Carolina joined the Union later in 1789, and Rhode Island joined last of all, in 1790.

⁵ To the teacher: Comparison may be made with the number and personnel of the present Cabinet.

The first business of the new government was to find ways of raising money for its necessary expenses. People do not like to be taxed; but, when the tax is not directly seen, they often pay the tax without knowing a great deal about it. It was proposed to raise money chiefly by *indirect* tax—by laying a tax or tariff on imported goods. The various States had been doing this; but now the central government was

Raising
revenue;
fixing a
place for the
seat of
government



From Avery's History of the United States and Its People
Courtesy of the United States History Co., Cleveland

William and Mary College, founded at Williamsburg in 1693; sometimes referred to as the successor to Henrico College, founded in 1619 at Jamestown; institution suffered greatly in Revolution; George Washington served as chancellor, 1788-'99; suffered more losses in War of Secession, when most of its property was destroyed; graduated Presidents Jefferson, Monroe, Harrison, and Tyler; established first chairs of law and of history, and first chapter of Phi Beta Kappa.

to have the benefit of that revenue. It was also proposed that the war debts of the States should be taken over and paid by the Federal government. This measure was carried, and at the same time it was decided that the capital of the United States should be built upon the Potomac.

Ten amendments to the Constitution were drawn

up and passed (see Appendix). The first nine of these amendments aimed to make secure the freedom of the people in the exercise of civil and religious rights and privileges. The last of the ten stated that such powers as were not expressly granted to the Federal government were reserved to the several States.

The first
amendments
to the
Constitution

Conflicting
views of
government;
the begin-
nings of
political
parties

Washington, in selecting his advisers, chose men of different political views. He wanted to avoid factions and party politics. In the selection of Hamilton and Jefferson, he found two men who seemed equally anxious to serve their country well, but who differed so greatly in their ideas as to government that they could not continue to work together in harmony. As the differences between the views of these two very able men represent differences not between individuals only, but political theories which have influenced the development of our country from that time to this, it is important to understand what these theories were. In part, the views of each prevailed. Our governmental policies and development represent a compromise between them.

Alexander Hamilton was born in the West Indies in 1757. He was educated at King's College (Columbia University), and became a colonial leader at a very early age. Although he took his stand with the patriot party in America, he thought that the European forms of government as then existing would furnish the best models for America. He did not believe that the masses of the people were capable of exercising political privileges. He thought that the control of

the government should be in the hands of a few; for example, the "well-born" and the "well-to-do," or those having property interests.⁶ This was his general view of government; for the Federal government, in particular, he advocated almost unlimited power over the people and over the States. Hamilton was an able advocate of high import taxes or tariffs, not only to provide money to make the Federal government strong, but also to protect and build up powerful manufacturing interests. He would have preferred a President elected for life, or even a monarchy, to the dangers he thought he saw in allowing the people generally to have a voice in the conduct of governmental policies.

Views of
Alexander
Hamilton

Thomas Jefferson was a descendant of that John Jefferson who was a member of the Jamestown House of Burgesses, the first representative assembly of the New World. Thomas Jefferson believed that all the people should have a share in the making and maintenance of government. He was so opposed to privileged classes that, as soon as the Revolution gave him opportunity, he at once worked for the overthrow in his own State of every form of privilege derived from British custom or heritage. He believed that the Federal government should have no more power than was absolutely necessary to maintain foreign treaties and to carry out those provisions mentioned in the exact words of the Constitution.

Views of
Thomas
Jefferson

No one can say positively what *might* have happened; but it seems most fortunate that part of the

⁶ See p. 48, foot-note.

views of each of these men prevailed in the formation of the government. If Hamilton had had his way only, a Federal government might have been created so much like the Old World forms of his age that the people would have rejected it altogether. On the other hand, had Jefferson's views wholly prevailed, the Federal government might have lacked the means to command respect or to maintain itself at all in the early stages of its existence. Hamilton's measures in assuming the Revolutionary debts of the States and in establishing a great bank under Federal control helped to create confidence in the stability of the government.

The first clash between the Federal government and the people of a State occurred in western Pennsylvania. Congress had passed a bill authorizing a tax on distilled spirits. This tax was felt most heavily by the people living in western communities. Here the people raised large crops of corn; but they could not get it to the eastern markets on account of the wretched condition of the roads. By using the grain in the making of spirituous liquors, they could reduce it to a manufactured article of smaller bulk and of greater commercial value. The Federal tax collectors were resisted, and Washington had to call out a Federal force to overcome the "rebellion." The protest of these farmers gains added weight when we find that Albert Gallatin, a future Secretary of the Treasury and a successor of Hamilton, sympathized with the protest, although not with the threats of armed resistance.

Compromises

First difficulty of the Federal government

Mention has already been made of the accession to the Union of North Carolina and Rhode Island.⁷ These had been two of the *original* thirteen States in the Confederation; but, in 1791 and 1792, respectively, two *new* States were added to the Union. These two States were Vermont and Kentucky. In 1796, Tennessee was admitted to the Union as the sixteenth State.⁸

Additional
accessions to
the Union,
1789-'96

Western expansion again brought on Indian wars. These wars lasted from 1790 to 1795 and it tested the strength of the Federal government to end them. General Harmar was sent against the Indians, but was defeated on the Maumee River, Ohio, in October, 1790. In the following year, General St. Clair, the territorial governor, was likewise defeated near the same place. In 1794, however, General Anthony Wayne retrieved these disasters by a great victory over the allied tribes at the battle of Fallen Timbers.

Indian Wars,
1790-'95

During the whole of the Revolutionary period,

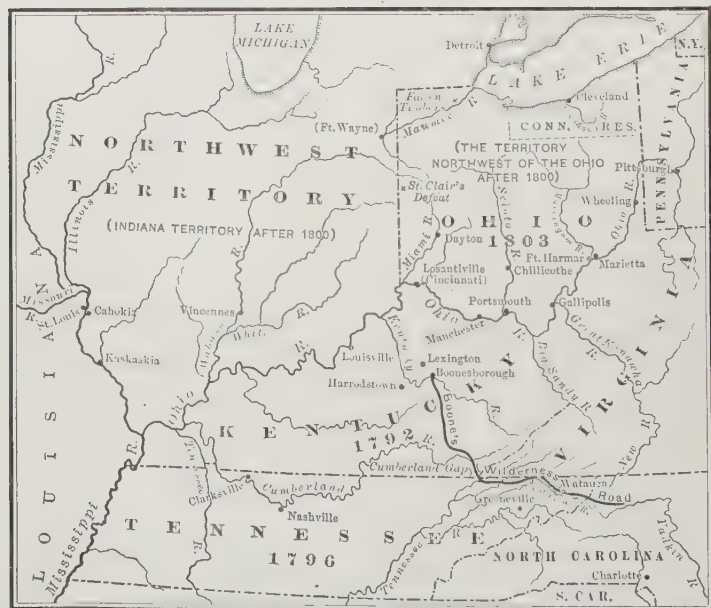
⁷ When President Washington traveled through the New England States in 1789, Rhode Island was regarded as foreign territory—a little separate nation. The people of that State were still debating the advisability of joining the Union.

To the teacher: An occasional reference to "what might have been" often adds interest to historical study, and not infrequently impresses upon the mind important political issues.

⁸ Vermont had tried to join the Confederation during the Revolution, but was refused admission through the influence of New York, the latter State claiming her territory. Vermont had been, to all intents and purposes, an independent State from 1777. Tennessee had, for a period, an independent existence as the State of Frankland or Franklin. This independence arose from difficulties with the parent State of North Carolina from 1784 to 1788.

throughout the period of the Confederation, and during Washington's administrations, the tide of frontier life was pushing steadily westward. After the

fall of "New France" in 1763, Great Britain had tried to hold back English settlement from extending beyond the Alleghanies;



MAP SHOWING DEVELOPMENT IN THE NORTHWEST AFTER THE REVOLUTION; SHOWS ALSO THE FAMOUS ROAD OR "TRAIL" OF DANIEL BOONE FROM NORTH CAROLINA AND VIRGINIA INTO KENTUCKY

but the Revolution and the conquest of the Northwest by George Rogers Clark changed these conditions, and settlement had already begun south of the Ohio River in Kentucky and Tennessee. Prior to the coming of the white settlers, Kentucky had been a kind of

"hunting ground" or meeting place for northern and southern tribes of Indians, which neither claimed. Settlement in this territory was made possible by the defeat of Cornstalk at the battle of Point Pleasant or the Great Kanawha (p. 99). Conditions of settlement were different from those in other regions where the frontier had progressed *gradually* westward. In Kentucky the first places selected for settlement were



DANIEL BOONE'S FORT

Daniel Boone, the famous Kentucky pioneer, first visited the "Dark and Bloody Ground" in May, 1769. From the first, Boone and his companions were attacked by the Indians. In 1773, Boone made his "blazed trail" to the banks of the Kentucky River. In 1775, the first year of the American Revolution, he built a fort at Boonesboro.

on the other side of mountainous districts, far beyond the English outposts. The men who had the most active part in the earliest development of Kentucky were James Harrod, Daniel Boone, and Richard Henderson. Harrodstown was founded in 1774 and Boonesboro in 1775. Tennessee had an even earlier beginning in the Watauga settlements, and these offshoots of Virginia and North Carolina had become

vigorous States before the end of the eighteenth century (see p. 165).⁹

In 1784, after the cession to the United States of the Northwest Territory, Thomas Jefferson drew up an ordinance, or law, for its government. This law was at that time defeated in Congress; but, in modified form, it was passed three years later by the Congress of the dying Confederation and became justly famous as the *Ordinance of 1787*. It provided for a division of the territory into States—not less than three nor more than five. Each new State was to be given equality with the older States; religious liberty was guaranteed; slavery was forbidden; and unusual provision was made for public education. In 1788, Marietta was founded as the first settlement under the Ordinance (see also p. 266).

Washington wished to retire to private life at the end of his first term in 1793, but he was persuaded to serve again, and he was again unanimously elected, the only one of our Presidents who has had that distinction.

During Washington's administration the French people overthrew the burdensome rule of their Bourbon kings and set up a republic. But the people of France were not prepared for orderly republican forms of government, as were the Americans, by a long period of self-government. They went to great extremes and fell under the control of violent men who were guilty

Washington
re-elected,
1792

France calls
upon the
United
States for
help

⁹ To the teacher: Interesting incidents in frontier adventure may be found in Roosevelt's "Winning of the West."

of great crimes in the name of liberty. In the course of time France went to war with the other nations of Europe and called on the United States to redeem pledges of help and assistance made in the treaty of 1778. Washington and his advisers refused assistance to the new republic, chiefly on the ground that it was not waging a war of defence, but one of attack or aggression.

The majority of the people of the United States sympathized with the French people as the European champions of democracy against monarchy. The minister sent to the United States by France was Edmond Genet, or "Citizen" Genet, as he was called. He landed at Charleston, South Carolina, and was received with so hearty a welcome that he thought he could drive the Federal govern- Improper conduct of the French minister ment into war against Great Britain through the force of popular opinion. He tried to stir up the people to equip privateers to prey upon British commerce, and he behaved in a manner so highly improper that Washington requested the French government to recall him and disavow his actions.

By insisting on the neutrality of the United States, Washington gained for the country the ill-will of the new French government. In a general way, his policies favored Great Britain; but Great Britain was causing much irritation in this country through its persistence in holding some of the western forts, such as Ontario and Attitude of Great Britain Detroit, and by frequently impressing American sailors into her service when her war vessels found them on the high seas. Washington sent

Chief Justice Jay to England to settle these differences; but the Jay treaty which Washington felt compelled to sign was, except with regard to the western forts, unsatisfactory, and it raised a storm of protest against Washington himself when its terms became known.

Near the close of his second term, in 1796, Washington made it clear that he would not again serve. Political differences had now become sharply defined. John Adams was put forward as the Federalist candidate, while Thomas Jefferson was recognized as the leader of the opposition, which came to be known as the Republican or Democratic-Republican party, and which later became the Democratic party. Adams received 71 electoral votes; Jefferson, 68. In accordance with the custom at that time, Adams was elected President, and Jefferson, although of the opposite party, was declared Vice-President. Such was the outcome of the first political struggle for the Presidential office.¹⁰

The early days of the administration of John Adams brought fresh troubles with France. Adams



JOHN ADAMS

Born Braintree, Massachusetts, 1735; colonial leader in resistance to Parliament; signed Declaration of Independence; minister to Great Britain; Vice-President, 1789-'97; President, 1797-1801; died July 4, 1826.

¹⁰ Before Washington retired from the Presidency, he issued a farewell address to the people of the United States, in which he warned his countrymen against sectional jealousies, party violence, and entangling alliances with foreign nations.

recalled James Monroe as minister to that republic; but Monroe, as a follower of Jefferson, was popular with the French government and people. The French government refused to receive his successor, and proceeded to seize American vessels and merchandise. Adams called Congress together and sent three special envoys to Paris. At Paris, ^{Controversy with France} proposals were made to the envoys that if money were paid over, all difficulties could be adjusted.¹¹ When the report of these proceedings reached America, popular feeling turned against France. In all probability war would have been declared, but for the intervention of Napoleon Bonaparte, who ordered French officials to let American shipping alone.¹²

In spite of the popular support of the Federalists in opposing French aggression, that party was losing favor. It was believed that its leaders were endeavoring to suppress the liberties of the people, and especially the rights of the States. This distrust was greatly increased when the Federalist majority in Congress sought to make use of the government to stop criticism of the Administration. In 1798,

¹¹ The French agents who made these proposals were called X, Y, and Z, and the affair has gone into history as the "X, Y, Z letters." C. C. Pinckney, one of the American envoys, is reported to have exclaimed, on hearing these proposals: "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute!"

¹² There was some fighting on the sea, however, and Commodore Truxtun, in command of the *Constellation*, had two sharp engagements with strong French war vessels, in both of which he came off victorious. There was also some privateering; but peaceful relations were resumed under agreements signed in September, 1800.

measures were passed, known as the "Alien and Sedition Laws." The Alien law gave power to the President to expel from the country, without trial, any foreigner whom he might regard as being dangerous to the peace and safety of the country. The Sedition law made it a crime to publish false or malicious writings against the government, and it provided for a fine or imprisonment for those who might combine in opposition to any measure or measures of the government.¹³

Alien and
Sedition
Laws, 1798

These acts appeared to Jefferson and the Democratic-Republican party as an attack upon the freedom of the press and of the individual. To oppose or denounce the acts rendered a person liable to prosecution; so that Jefferson and Madison determined to strike at them through the action of State legislatures. Consequently, Jefferson persuaded the legislature of Kentucky to pass resolutions declaring the Alien and Sedition laws unconstitutional, and therefore "void and of no force." Madison, the "father of the Constitution," induced the legislature of Virginia to pass similar resolutions. The Kentucky resolutions presented the *doctrine of nullification*, or the right of a State to decide for itself whether a law was constitutional or within the powers originally "delegated" by the States to the Federal government.¹⁴

Kentucky
and Virginia
resolutions

¹³ The Alien law was aimed at certain editors of Democratic-Republican newspapers who had made themselves especially obnoxious to the Administration and the Federalist party.

¹⁴ This alleged right of a State to nullify Federal law was exercised by almost every State in the Union up to the time of

Perhaps Jefferson and Madison might have spared their expressions in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, for the Alien and Sedition laws were overwhelmingly condemned by the people. Such measures were doomed to perish, and from that time, Federalist power began to wane. Washington, although not a party man, could no longer be appealed to by his Federalist friends, for Washington had died on the 14th of December, 1799. Besides, since Hamilton and Adams were not kindly disposed to each other, dissensions split the Federalist ranks. Consequently, Adams was defeated for re-election, receiving but 65 votes, against a tie vote of 73 each for Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, the Democratic-Republican leaders. Congress, called upon to decide between Jefferson and Burr, chose the former. Burr became Vice-President.¹⁵

Federalist
defeat;
Thomas
Jefferson
elected
President,
1800

national consolidation effected in 1861 '65. (See pp. 184-276.) This form of "State rights" was an inheritance from the American Revolution and from the *local self-government* which preceded the Revolution. To-day, the decision of the United States Supreme Court is accepted as final with regard to all such questions.

¹⁵ The Federalists were defeated in the executive and legislative departments of the government, but Adams, who, at that time, honestly distrusted Jefferson and the Democratic-Republicans, made use of his remaining time in office to establish Federalists in every position possible in the judicial department. His most important appointment was that of John Marshall as Chief Justice. Marshall remained the head of the United States Supreme Court from 1801 to 1835, and, through his decisions there, did everything possible to extend and strengthen the power of the Federal Government.

POINTS OF INTEREST; SUGGESTIONS FOR READING OR DISCUSSION

In reading the history of the Revolutionary period, we seem to take for granted that Washington would, in due time, give up his sword and commission and become again a private citizen of Virginia. But the history of the world before that time shows that successful generals and leaders seized power for themselves.

In 1782, many officers of the Continental army, in addition to leading citizens, became convinced that, since republics had always failed in the past, a republican form of government could not succeed at any time. One of these officers, who had often been the medium for the expression of the camp, suggested to Washington that he should allow himself to be proclaimed a Protector, like Cromwell, or a Dictator, such as Napoleon afterwards became in the French Republic; or even a "king," like George III, if

A crown
offered to
Washington

the popular objection to the last title could be overcome. Washington was not only not flattered, but felt hurt that any one could suggest such a course to him. He expressed himself so forcibly in his reply that no one ever dared to bring up the matter again. He

closed his letter to that officer with the following words: "*If you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself or any one else, a sentiment of the like nature.*"

We have read briefly of the defeats suffered by Washington and the Continental troops at Brandywine and Germantown; yet, in that campaign, Washington eagerly sought a third battle which the British threatened for a time, but which they did not offer. Beveridge, in his "Life of John Marshall," tells the story of



MARTHA WASHINGTON

Born Martha Dandridge, of Virginia, 1732; married Daniel Parke Custis, a wealthy planter, 1749; after the death of Custis, she married, in 1759, George Washington. The wealth that became hers after the death of her first husband did not influence either her or George Washington to take sides against the patriot cause. They preferred to risk all on behalf of their countrymen. She was born the same year as George Washington and survived him three years. Died 1802.

that threatened attack and how Washington was prepared to meet it:¹⁶

"Although Washington refused to throw his worn and hungry troops upon the perfectly prepared and victorious enemy entrenched in Philadelphia, he was eager to meet the British in the open field. But he must choose the field. So when, early in December, Howe's army marched out of Philadelphia, the Americans were ready. Washington had taken a strong position on some hills. After much manœuvering by the British and deadly skirmishing by detachments of the patriots, the two armies came into close contact. Not more than a mile away shone the scarlet uniforms of the Royal troops; but Washington refused to be lured from his advantageous ground. Apparently, the British were about to attack and a decisive battle was about to be fought. . . . 'The American chief,' wrote Marshall, 'rode through every brigade of his army, delivering in person his orders respecting the manner of receiving the enemy, exhorting his troops to rely principally on the bayonet, and encouraging them by the steady firmness of his countenance, as well as by his words, to a vigorous performance of their duty.' . . . Finally the British, seeing the resolute front of the Americans, and already bleeding from the fierce thrusts of Morgan's Virginia riflemen, suddenly withdrew to Philadelphia, and Washington's army went into winter quarters on the hills of Valley Forge."

**Washington's
preparation
against
Howe's
threatened
attack, Dec.,
1777**

At Valley Forge, those whose duty it was to supply food failed miserably:

"Two days before Christmas there was 'not a single hoof of any kind to slaughter, and not more than twenty-five barrels of flour.' Men died by the score from starvation. Most of the time 'fire cake,' made of dirty, soggy dough, and warmed over smoky fires, was the only sustenance. Sometimes, testifies Marshall himself, soldiers and officers 'were absolutely without food.' . . . What held the patriot forces together at this time? George Washington, and he alone. Had he died, or had he been seriously disabled, the Revolution would have ended. Had typhoid fever seized him for a month; had any of those diseases, with which the army was plagued, confined him, the patriot standard would have fallen forever."

**Washington
at Valley
Forge,
1777-78**

¹⁶ By permission of the author, the quotation is slightly changed for adaptation to this volume.

Thomas Jefferson and Robert Morris were the men who planned our present simple coinage system. Had it not been for their work, we might still be struggling with the cumbersome British table with its pounds, shillings, pence, etc. Thomas Jefferson desired also to introduce the decimal system in weights and measures. In this respect, we still hold on to the older customs brought over from England.

**New system
of coinage**

The first Federal census under the Constitution showed that the State of Virginia led in population. Pennsylvania was second, and North Carolina third. Proportionally few people lived in large cities or towns. Compare both of these statements with the latest figures in population and its distribution.

**First census,
1790**



A STAGE COACH

These vehicles, prior to 1730, were without springs of any kind. After 1750, stage coaches were built with contrivances which gave a swinging motion to the body. In 1770, President Quincy of Harvard College wrote: "One pair of horses took us 18 miles. We generally reached our resting place for the night, if no accident intervened, at 10 o'clock, . . . with a notice that we should be called at 3 o'clock next morning; . . . and then, whether it snowed or rained, the traveler must rise and make ready by the help of a horn lantern and a farthing candle, and proceed on his way over bad roads, sometimes getting out to help the coachman lift the coach out of a quagmire or rut, and arriving at New York after a week's travel, wondering at the ease with which our journey was effected."

Except Baltimore and Charleston, the large towns were in the Middle States and in New England. The people of the South and West were almost wholly engaged in agriculture. Their implements were very crude. They merely stirred up and loosened the

soil as best they could with a plow which was made entirely, or almost entirely, of wood. Thomas Jefferson was one of those who worked out improvements in the plow; but it was not until 1855 that the chilled iron plow was invented by James Oliver, of Indiana. In 1900, it was estimated that "ten million American farmers cultivate more land than one hundred million agricultural families in Asia, where wooden plows are still used." In colonial days, sickles had been used to cut the wheat. In 1800, grain cradles came into use; in 1831, Cyrus McCormick, a Virginia farmer, invented the reaper, which did as much for the development of the West as Whitney's cotton-gin did for the South.

Agriculture at the beginning of the 19th century

Little was known or thought about the use of fertilizers or of the conservation of soil, of forest, or of native birds and other animals. In the course of time some of these American birds and animals became almost or entirely extinct. Almost every one knows what happened to the buffalo; but few know of the extinction of such birds as those wild "pigeons" referred to by the first settlers at Jamestown (p. 21).¹⁷

Failure to conserve natural resources

In a previous chapter (p. 85), we have seen how the raising of rice and indigo was aided by the efforts of a South Carolina girl. Also, in the Southern States, there was an even more remarkable increase in the raising of cotton, due to the invention of the cotton-gin. Although it seems that some crude appliances had been in use for separating the seed from the cotton, Eli Whitney, a Massachusetts school teacher in Georgia, invented a cotton-gin which enabled a person to clean one hundred pounds of cotton in the time it formerly took to clean one pound. Whitney brought his invention to general notice in 1793, and cotton soon became the leading export of the United States.

Invention of the cotton-gin, 1793

The immensely increased value of cotton made negro slave labor in the South very much more profitable than before. It increased the slave trade in African negroes, a traffic which at one time was highly profitable to Great Britain and which began in the New England colonies as early as 1636 (see p. 49). New England had long been famous for her well-built ships and hardy

¹⁷ The American wild pigeon disappeared at a comparatively recent date.

sailors. Some of these ships sailed regularly from Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, carrying merchandise to the West Indies. Here they took on cargoes of tropical products, chiefly sugar and molasses, and returned to the New England coast, where

**The African
slave trade;
and slavery
in the
Southern
States**

the sugar and molasses were made into rum. With rum and beads and trinkets they sailed for Africa and bought negroes. The negroes were sometimes captured by white men; but, oftener, they were war-slaves of the various tribes and a number of them were cannibals.

The negroes were packed on board of the ships and brought over to be sold in the markets of the coast towns of the South. They were bought by planters and put to work in the rice and cotton fields. At the hands of Americans they received far better treatment than the best they could expect as slaves or captives in Africa or anywhere else at that time. Their manners and morals improved in contact with a high type of civilization, so that, in two generations, the lowest grades of "voodoo" savages were raised hundreds of years in the scale of human progress.

A provision of the Constitution (Article I, Section IX), which was insisted upon by the Middle States, including Maryland and

**The end of
the African
slave trade,
1808**

Virginia, made the African slave trade illegal after 1808; for, in addition to the moral objections to continuing the slave trade, there were also economic and political objections. The continued importation of

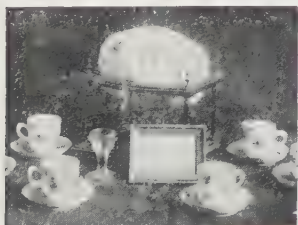
negroes was regarded as a menace in many ways, and, although slavery existed in the Middle States, the people there were not extensively engaged in the slave trade, and they did not raise cotton, the product which especially seemed to require negro labor. It was after the invention of the cotton-gin and before this constitutional prohibition that the slave trade was most active. The New England shipping interests made large fortunes, and the export of cotton from the Southern States increased from almost nothing in 1790 to millions of pounds annually.

A monument recently erected on the Potomac River at Shepherdstown, West Virginia, commemorates the inventive genius of an American who worked out the model of a steamboat as early as 1784 and who, three years later, launched the steamboat itself in the presence of General Gates and other officers of the Continental army. This American inventor was James Rumsey, of Maryland. At this

**The story of
James
Rumsey and
the steam-
boat,
1784-'92**

time George Washington wrote encouragingly to Rumsey and warned him against those who might seize upon his ideas as their own. But Rumsey was poor, and Washington's kindly advice did not equip steamboats. Benjamin Franklin, however, who also was an inventor and scientist, became interested, and helped Rumsey to go abroad to get assistance. Rumsey, however, died in London just as he seemed about to get the help he needed.

Not long after the early experiments of Rumsey, John Fitch, of Connecticut, constructed a steamboat that was more successful than Rumsey's; but he, too, failed to achieve permanent success in navigation. Besides Rumsey and Fitch, a number of other persons, from New England to Georgia, constructed steamboats; but it remained for Robert Fulton, of Pennsylvania, to become the



Some of the pieces of colonial china used by Benjamin Franklin in the entertainment of his friends. Now in collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

"father of steamboat navigation." In 1807, ^{Fulton's success, 1807} his first boat, the *Cler-*

mont, made regular trips on the Hudson River between New York and Albany. Fulton had previously been abroad in England and France. In England, he had invented machines for spinning flax and for making rope. In France, he experimented with a "plunging boat" (a submarine) and with torpedoes. Napoleon was, for a time, interested

in Fulton's ideas; but the French government would not assist him. In 1806, he returned to the United States and gave first to his own country the greatest product of his inventive genius.

There were no railways in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the wagon roads were so bad that, over long distances, it often cost more to carry products than the goods were worth. Passengers in the old stage-coaches had rough and uncertain traveling. In 1780, United States post-office routes had been established where the roads made it possible for fairly regular passage; but letter postage was too expensive for popular use. Postage on ordinary letters varied from six to twenty-five cents, according to the distance.

Travel and the early post routes and rates

Colleges and schools for men and boys were established in the colonies long before the Revolution. Among the most noted of

the earlier colleges are: Harvard, founded in 1636 (p. 50); William and Mary, 1693; Yale, 1701; Princeton, 1746; Pennsylvania, 1749; Columbia, 1754. In these colleges, many of the

Education founders of the Republic were educated; while others, like George Washington, were educated in the simplest of "field schools" or academies. The first college for women was established at Macon, Georgia. This was Wesleyan College, which awarded the first degrees to its graduates in 1840. Oberlin College, Ohio, one of the first of the co-educational institutions, opened its doors to both men and women in 1833. In 1841, it granted its first degrees to women.

To the teacher: It is interesting to suggest, or to ask for, the names of a number of articles, appliances, etc., now in every-day use, which were unknown to our ancestors at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These suggestions may be extended from the common sulphur match (first patented in the United States by Alonzo D. Phillips, of Massachusetts, in 1836) to anything in general use to-day. A good modern encyclopædia will give the date of invention and the name of the inventor, together with an account of the crude contrivance which the invention supplanted. A series of descriptive and narrative compositions along this line may be prepared for reading or recitation.

CHAPTER IX

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN PERIOD, TO THE CLOSE OF SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN

Difficulties with Foreign Nations.—On general principles, Jefferson was opposed to war and to the strengthening of the fighting forces of the Federal government; but, at the beginning of his administration in 1801, difficulties arose between the United States and the Barbary powers in North Africa. Previously, President Washington had felt compelled to make a humiliating treaty with those piratical peoples, by the terms of which the United States bound itself to pay annual tribute. Jefferson now sent to the distant Mediterranean an armed force, which, after three years of severe fighting, accomplished its purpose of convincing the Mohammedan rulers of Tripoli, Algiers, and the other Barbary States that the United States would maintain its rights on the high seas; so that thereafter commercial tribute and ransoms for the lives of United States sailors ceased.¹

War with the
Barbary
States

¹ The nations of Europe also had been paying tribute to the Barbary States in order to secure their ships and sailors from molestation. While in Europe, Jefferson had suggested to Europeans that it might be less expensive and more effective to make war against the pirates than to pay them tribute. Later, Jefferson's report as Secretary of State led Congress to pass a bill authorizing the construction of warships for use in the Mediterra-

During his administrations, Jefferson found it very difficult to hold fast to Washington's warning to keep out of "entangling alliances" with the nations of Europe, for the whole of that continent was involved in bitter conflict.

Conditions
in Europe

France and Great Britain, the most powerful of the warring nations, were both inclined to treat the young American Republic with indifference or contempt. Nevertheless, when Jefferson found out that Napoleon, by a secret treaty with Spain, had secured

the claims of the latter country to the Louisiana



THOMAS JEFFERSON

Statue by Karl Bitter at the University of Virginia, founded by Jefferson. Born in Virginia, April 13, 1743; author of Declaration of Independence in Continental Congress, 1776; Governor of Virginia, 1779-'81; succeeded Franklin as minister to Paris, 1784; first Secretary of State under Washington; Vice-President, 1797-1801; President, 1801-'09; secured Louisiana Territory by purchase and the Oregon country for the United States through exploration. Died July 4, 1826.

nean. These ships, however, were not put to any such use until Jefferson became President. Because of this report and similar suggestions, John Adams called Jefferson the father of the American navy.

territory, he let it be known that the United States would make an alliance with Great Britain rather than have this treaty become effective.

Jefferson had already proposed the purchase of a part of this territory in order to secure free passage on the Mississippi for the trade of the western settlements. In 1803, Napoleon, fearing that the



James Monroe and Robert Livingston, as representatives of the United States Government in Paris, signing the treaty by which Louisiana was ceded to the United States for \$15,000,000.

British would seize the Louisiana territory, suddenly offered to sell the whole of it to the United States. A

Acquisition
of Louisiana,
1803

treaty was accordingly drawn up, by the terms of which Louisiana was purchased for \$15,000,000. Thus, Jefferson peacefully and permanently secured for the

United States a territory greater than that temporarily conquered by Napoleon for France at the sacrifice of millions of lives and infinite treasure.

We are compelled, on various occasions in the course of United States history, prior to the period of consolidation in 1865, to explain the seemingly unreasonable stand taken by different States or groups of States against the actions of the Federal government. Sometimes these States protested because they *feared* aggression by the central government, as shown by the passing of the Kentucky and

Virginia resolutions (p. 172) ; or because they *feared the power of a group of States*. The purchase, therefore, of the Louisiana territory aroused great opposition in New England. The people of that section feared that, in the growth of the South and West, the New England States would have a steadily diminishing voice in the councils of the Republic. Consequently, the legislature of Massachusetts passed a resolution which declared that the adding of the Louisiana territory to the Union "*formed a new Confederacy to which the States united by the former compact [the Constitution] are not bound to adhere.*" In self-protection, a separate confederation or republic was proposed, which was to consist of the New England States, New York, and possibly New Jersey, where the Federalists still had a strong following. The Federalists, therefore, supported, for Governor of New York, Aaron Burr, who was out of harmony with Jefferson and the Democratic-Republican party.

Opposition to
the purchase
of Louisiana;
the right of
secession
asserted

Alexander Hamilton, however, the greatest of the Federalists, was opposed to any such scheme. Burr was defeated in the election and, accusing Hamilton of having slandered him, challenged the latter to a duel in which Hamilton was mortally wounded, July 11, 1804. The death of Hamilton aroused great indignation against Burr and called especial attention to the so-called conspiracy to establish a northern confederacy. Popular opinion turned against the Federalists, and, in the Presidential election of 1804,

Burr's
alleged
conspiracy

Jefferson received 162 votes to 14 cast for C. C. Pinckney, his Federalist opponent.²

Although Jefferson had himself been surprised in securing so easily the whole of the Louisiana territory, he immediately planned not only to explore that country, but also to send an expedition to the unknown regions beyond the Rocky Mountains north of the Spanish claims. The men selected to guide this hazardous exploration were Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, a younger brother of the George Rogers Clark who had, under Governor Jefferson, se-



From Avery's History of The United States and Its People, Courtesy of The United States History Company, Cleveland

MERIWETHER LEWIS, BY SAINT MEMIN

Born Albemarle County, Virginia, August 18, 1774; private secretary to Thomas Jefferson, 1801-'03; with Captain William Clark explored the Northwest from the mouth of the Missouri at St. Louis to the mouth of the Columbia on the Pacific, 1804-'06; Governor of Missouri territory, 1807. Died 1809.

² The twelfth amendment to the Constitution, changing the manner of casting the electoral vote, was ratified in 1804 (see p. 160, and also Appendix). George Clinton, a Democratic-Republican from New York, was elected Vice-President. Burr was afterwards accused of trying to set up a separate or hostile government over the Louisiana territory. While evidence showed that he had started to equip an expedition headed for the southwest, he was acquitted of treasonable conduct by the United States Supreme Court. Jefferson did all he could to secure Burr's conviction, and even accused Chief Justice Marshall of a desire to shield Burr.

cured by conquest the "Illinois country" (p. 142). With a small band of United States soldiers and Kentucky volunteers, Lewis and Clark set out from St. Louis in May, 1804. They worked their way up the Missouri River, crossed the "Great Divide," and went down the Columbia River to the Pacific, claiming the entire "Oregon country" for the United States. The expedition returned to St. Louis in September, 1806, and the records of their travel show that they had to contend with innumerable difficulties, besides facing the constant danger of attacks by fierce Indian tribes. In due time, hunters, trappers, and settlers followed the course of Lewis and Clark. Five years after their return to St. Louis, Astoria was established as a trading post at the mouth of the Columbia River.³

Lewis and
Clark
expedition,
1804-'06

While Jefferson was planning for the peaceful expansion of this Republic, Europe continued either in a state of war or in preparation for it. France, under Napoleon, endeavored to control most of the continent of Europe; Great Britain, on the other hand, ruled the sea. As stated, both great powers despised the weakness of America, so that the commerce of the United States was almost

Non-inter-
course acts

³ Meriwether Lewis was a true type of American pioneer and explorer. He had expressed a desire to lead such an expedition in 1792, when he was but nineteen years old. In 1806, an expedition under Zebulon M. Pike set out from St. Louis to explore the Louisiana cession. Pike's course lay through several of the present States of the middle West to the central parts of Colorado. Pike's Peak, one of the highest mountains in the Rocky Mountain range, bears his name to-day.

wholly crushed between the blows of the belligerents in their desperate efforts to cripple each other's resources. Protests made by the United States had



Stephen Decatur, of the American Navy, shooting a Tripolitan in an attack upon pirate gunboats in the harbor of Tripoli, August 3, 1804. Decatur is himself saved by the sacrifice of an American sailor who puts himself between the officer and another Tripolitan.

little or no weight; so Jefferson persuaded Congress to pass bills to prevent all intercourse with the war-

ring nations. It was believed that if the United States refused to trade with Great Britain the merchants of that country, unable to sell their goods in America, would compel Parliament to change its policy towards neutral commerce. Moreover, Great Britain would be shut off from cotton and other raw material, for which the manufacturers had been very largely dependent upon the United States.⁴

One of these measures, known as the Embargo Act, forbade all vessels to sail from American ports for Europe until the rights of neutrals should be recognized. Immediately, a storm of protest went up from all the shipping interests of the country. The southern planters could not sell their cotton; and the merchants of the seaports, with all those dependent upon them, were shut out of their means of livelihood. Feeling in New England was so aroused that there was open defiance of the act. The people began to evade it just as they had evaded the navigation acts of the British Parliament. When a bill was passed by Congress to enforce the embargo, the legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut declared, in terms not unlike those of the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions (p. 172), that the act was unconstitutional and that its provisions should not be obeyed. In the face, therefore, of

The Embargo
Act;
nullification

⁴ It is, of course, impossible to say what might have happened; but careful examination of British publications seems to show that, but for the opposition to, and the frequent evasion of, the non-intercourse acts *in the United States*, the British importers and manufacturers would have compelled Parliament to yield the points for which the United States government was contending.

threats of nullification and of secession, Congress felt compelled to give up the embargo, although a non-intercourse policy with France and Great Britain was further urged and attempted.⁵

At this time, Jefferson, having approached the end of his second term, declined, like Washington, to be a candidate for a third time. James Madison,



JAMES MADISON

Born in Virginia, March 16, 1751; delegate to Continental Congress, 1780-'84; member Constitutional Convention; as a prominent framer of the new form of government, called "father of the Constitution"; Secretary of State under Jefferson; President, 1809-'17. Died June 28, 1836.

of Virginia, and George Clinton, of New York, the Democratic-Republican candidates, carried, with the exception of Delaware, all the States south and west of New England. In New England the Federalists regained their former power and swept that section because of the dissatis-

Madison
elected
President,
1808

French
aggressions

faction with the policies of the government.⁶

Like Jefferson, Madison exerted himself in the effort to keep the American people out of the European war. Both belligerents, however, continued to violate the neutral rights of the United States.

⁵ To the teacher: Those who in the Southern States depended upon the shipment of cotton, tobacco, etc., also suffered by the embargo; but their opposition was less keen, partly because the sentiment of opposition was less well organized and because the legislation in question was urged by the political party which they supported.

⁶ The Federalist candidates were not, however, from that section. They were C. C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, and Rufus King, of New York.

Napoleon issued a proclamation stating that he would revoke his decree against neutral commerce. Consequently, Congress suspended the non-intercourse act with regard to France; but, when considerable American shipping was within his reach, Napoleon issued orders to seize it.

On the other hand, Great Britain had continued to impress American sailors, and, in 1807, the British frigate *Leopard* fired on the American frigate *Chesapeake*, on the ground that the *Chesapeake* was withholding British subjects. The *Chesapeake* was unprepared for battle and was obliged to yield to the demands of the commander of the *Leopard*.

British
aggressions,
1807

The American government protested against the outrage, but public opinion was divided. Some of the Federalists, inclined to favor Great Britain as a possible refuge from the alleged oppressions of their own government, upheld the actions of the *Leopard*. The British government finally agreed to offer some reparation; but when, in 1811, the British minister arrived in America to make apology, an event had happened which, in a measure, served to avenge the assault upon the *Chesapeake*.⁷

Ever since the attack on the *Chesapeake*, the officers and men of the few United States frigates were anxious to try conclusions with the British; so that when the frigate *President* signalled the British corvette *Little Belt*

The "Presi-
dent" and
"Little Belt"
affair, 1811

⁷ It should be remembered that British sailors did, from time to time, desert from British vessels and enter the service of American shippers, where the wages were higher and the conditions of service better. Also, British commerce had suffered to some extent through American privateering under the French flag.

and received a shot in return, the American vessel lost no time in coming to action. The *Little Belt* was a smaller vessel, but fought courageously and lost 32 of its crew before it was compelled to surrender. The *President* was little damaged and reported but two boys wounded.

The "Second War for Independence."—The two countries were rapidly drifting into open war. The American minister expressed his unwillingness to remain in Great Britain, and returned to America. When, also, it was found that the Indians in the Northwest were supplied with British firearms and powder, the war spirit of the younger men in the Democratic-Republican party could no longer be held in check. In June, 1812, Congress declared war against Great Britain.⁸

Although Henry Clay, one of the leaders of the "war party" in Congress, had boasted that Kentucky volunteers alone could conquer Canada, the United States government was ill-prepared for war. The few thousand soldiers of the Federal army were scattered in western posts; the commanders were men too old for active service, and many of them had had no experience in handling large bodies of troops. The navy, of perhaps twelve effective fighting ships, was insignificant in comparison with the mighty fleets of Great Britain. Even worse than the widespread lack of adequate preparation for war was the fact that sentiment in

War declared
against Great
Britain, 1812

The country
unprepared
for war

⁸ In November, 1811, General William Henry Harrison had defeated the Indians at Tippecanoe Creek, in the Indian territory.

the northeastern States was so opposed to it that Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut positively refused to obey the Federal call for troops.*

On land, the early conduct of the War of 1812 was marked by a series of humiliating disasters and defeats. The American military leaders were incompetent, the men were without proper training, and the military supplies were poor in quality and insufficient. The first disaster occurred in the Northwest. General William Hull had advanced into Canada, but became disheartened and retired to Detroit. Here, without firing a shot, he surrendered to a force of British and Indians under General

Disaster and
defeat in the
North and
Northwest

Brock. Hull's surrender left the British in possession of the Michigan territory. This disaster was followed in January, 1813, by the defeat of General James Winchester on the Raisin River. In this battle the Americans lost practically their entire force, as at Detroit, and the British permitted, or at least failed to prevent, the

* In any country other than the United States, such a refusal to obey the central government would have been treason. It would be so regarded in this country to-day. Since the *Republic* had not yet become a *nation*, the States were as jealous of their long-accustomed right to judge and act for themselves as at any time in their history as colonies. If, therefore, argued the people of these States, the Federal government purposed waging a war which seemed likely to ruin them or of which they did not approve, they would not take any part in it. They felt, also, that if the Federal government proposed legislation which they deemed unjust or injurious, it was not only the right but the duty of the State government to interfere for the protection of its citizens. It seems clear that our government was founded on a general consent to these principles, which were maintained by States and groups of States until the close of the War of Secession (see pp. 184-276).

massacre of the sick and wounded, together with many of the soldiers who had surrendered under the promise of protection.¹⁰ The earlier campaigns conducted upon the northern border of New York proved equally disappointing to the Americans. Attempts at the invasion of Canada resulted in dismal failures, owing partly to the poor leadership of General Dearborn and to the conduct of the untrained militia.

At the close of the year 1812, except for some ship duels on the sea, the government had continually faced defeat and disaster at the hands of the enemy, together with indifference and even hostility in some quarters at home. In the elections of 1812, ^{Elections of 1812} the New England States were again found solidly arrayed against the Democratic-Republican party, and to these States were now added New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. The southern and western States, however, returned a large majority for the Administration. Madison was accordingly elected President for a second term, and the Federal government made preparations to prosecute the war with greater vigor.¹¹

The defeats during the first fourteen months of war were partly redeemed on Lake Erie by the splendid victory of the American naval forces under Captain Oliver H. Perry. This energetic young officer

¹⁰ The terrible cruelty of this massacre aroused the fighting spirit of the West; and when, in the course of time, the western troops were given better supplies and competent leaders they rushed confidently into battle with the cry, "Remember the River Raisin!"

¹¹ DeWitt Clinton, of New York, and Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, were the Federalist candidates for President and Vice-President.

superintended the equipment of a small squadron to meet that of the British, and, after a spirited engagement on September 10, 1813, wrested from them the control of the lake. This victory paved the way for the advance of General Harrison in the Northwest. The victor at Tippecanoe met the British and Indians under General Proctor and Chief Tecumseh in a battle on

**The
Northwest
regained,
1813**



Commodore Oliver H. Perry on Lake Erie, September 10, 1813. Although Perry was forced to abandon his flagship, he resumed fighting on another vessel, but only after four-fifths of his own crew had been killed or wounded. This victory did much to offset the failures of the United States militia on the Canadian border.

the River Thames in Canada. Tecumseh was killed, and the British and Indians were so badly defeated that the Northwest territory passed again into the control of the United States.¹²

¹² Tecumseh had succeeded in arousing the Creek Indians in the Mississippi territory. Massacres of the whites followed, the worst of these taking place at Fort Mims, Alabama. Andrew Jackson was sent against the southern tribes and, in a vigorous campaign, completely routed them.

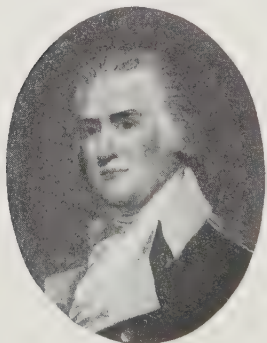
After the American attempts to invade Canada from the New York border had ended in failure, the British planned a counter-attack from the north. Accordingly, Sir George Prevost, with 14,000 men, invaded New York in coöperation with a naval force on Lake Champlain. On September 11, Plattsburg and Lake Champlain, 1814 1814, the British fleet was met and decisively defeated by the Americans under Commodore Macdonough. Although there was fighting on land between the British and Americans at Plattsburg, the naval battle decided the outcome of the whole campaign, and Prevost withdrew from the field. This fight on Lake Champlain has been rated as the greatest naval engagement of the War of 1812.¹³

In connection with the invasion of New York from Canada as a land base, the British, free-handed and fresh from the first overthrow of Napoleon, sent a strong expedition up the Chesapeake Bay.¹⁴ The War Department was wholly unprepared for this new invasion aimed at the headquarters of the Federal government; moreover, the general in charge of the defence of the Federal capital and the Chesapeake was weak and vacillating. Near British capture Washington, Aug. 24 Bladensburg, a few miles outside of Washington, four hundred sailors under Commodore Barney stoutly opposed the British advance when the other troops had fled; but this small force was finally over-

¹³ Mahan, "Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812," vol. ii.

¹⁴ Smaller expeditions had been sent against coast towns from New England to the Carolinas. These had plundered and burned at will, for there were no adequate defences provided against such attacks.

whelmed and driven off. Barney was wounded and captured. Without meeting further opposition, the British took possession of Washington and burned the Capitol, together with many of the public buildings and private dwellings.¹⁵



GENERAL SAMUEL SMITH

Born Lancaster, Pennsylvania, July 27, 1752. Served in Revolutionary War and defended Fort Mifflin, in the Delaware River; major-general of State militia in defence of Baltimore against the British, 1814. Died 1839.

force of about 3000 militia.

The British now planned to take Baltimore. That port had been extremely active in sending out fast light-armed vessels to capture British merchantmen.¹⁶ At North Point, east of Baltimore, 6000 troops disembarked. These troops, under the command of General Ross, were to advance upon the city while the fleet bombarded Fort McHenry in the harbor. General Samuel Smith, a veteran of the Revolution, opposed Ross with a

¹⁵ Before the battle at Bladensburg, the President and some of the members of his Cabinet narrowly missed capture by the British. After the battle, they were carried along in the retreat of the panic-stricken army of defence. The plans of the American commander were wretched throughout. Commodore Barney, who had secured a semi-independent command, with but 400 men, inflicted heavy losses upon a British force of 4000. He reserved his cannon and musket fire until the British lines were close upon him.

¹⁶ In the privateer *Rossie*, Barney had captured, in forty-five days, fifteen vessels, valued at \$1,289,000. It was chiefly these Baltimore-built "clipper" ships which had so harassed British commerce that it was difficult to get insurance at Lloyd's even on vessels crossing the Irish Sea,

The outposts of the armies met unexpectedly, and General Ross was shot by skirmishers. A sharp engagement followed, in which some 1700 of the American force held the British until ordered to fall back on the entrenchments around the city. This encounter took place on the 12th of September, the day after Macdonough's victory on Lake Champlain, and, as at Plattsburg, the British army awaited the action of their naval forces. The latter began the bombardment of Fort McHenry on the morning of September 13 and kept it up all that night. On the following morning the American flag still waved above the fort and the British were forced to withdraw in defeat very much as they had been forced to withdraw from Charleston in June, 1776.¹⁷

For some weeks, commissioners from the United States and Great Britain had been discussing terms of peace at Ghent; but the Americans would not accede to the British demands, and agreement seemed impossible. When, however, the news of British defeats at Plattsburg and Baltimore reached London, the British ministry decided to yield the points most objectionable to the Americans, and a treaty was signed December 24, 1814. This treaty left matters pretty much as they

Battle of
Baltimore,
Sept. 12 to 14,
1814

Treaty of
Ghent,
Dec. 24, 1814

¹⁷ The comparison receives added interest from the fact that with the British fleet was Sir Peter Parker, the grandson of that Sir Peter Parker who lost an arm at Charleston. The grandson lost his life in attempting to intercept reinforcements on the way to join the American forces. The defence of Fort McHenry inspired the writing of "The Star-Spangled Banner" (see p. 202).

had been before the war. Nothing was said about search and impressment, but the United States had no further difficulty with Great Britain in these matters.

News traveled across the Atlantic only as fast as sailing vessels could carry it, and the war in America went on. One of the plans of the British was to capture New Orleans and get possession of the Louisiana territory. In December, about 8000 of Wellington's veterans dis-

**Battle of
New Orleans,
Jan. 8, 1815**



GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON ENCOURAGING THE AMERICAN TROOPS AT THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS, JANUARY 8, 1815

embarked and advanced on New Orleans, under the leadership of Sir Edward Pakenham. Opposed to them were between five and six thousand American troops under the command of Andrew Jackson. Jackson displayed great energy and skill in arranging his men; he well knew the coolness and accurate marksmanship of his Tennessee and Kentucky rifle-

men, and he had inspired the Louisiana militia with confidence to face the British regulars. When the British attacked the American entrenchments on January 8, 1815, they were met by a more deadly fire than they had ever faced in Europe. Even Wellington's veterans fell back in dismay. Pakenham himself fell, together with over two thousand of his men; while the Americans lost but 71 in killed and wounded. Some weeks later came the belated news of the treaty of Ghent, and hostilities ceased in the United States (see p. 201 for last fight of the *Constitution*).

When Jackson had fought his campaign against the Indians (p. 194), he led his troops through what had been known a few years before as West Florida, a part of the Spanish possessions in North America. In 1810, however, the inhabitants had seized the fort at Baton Rouge, declared their independence, and asked for annexation to the United States. A new State, formed out of this and the Orleans Territory, was called Louisiana and admitted to the Union in 1812.¹⁸

Admission of
Louisiana,
1812

Great opposition to admitting Louisiana into the Union was expressed in the New England States (see p. 184). Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, declared, on the floor of Congress, that the admission of Louisiana dissolved the bonds of the Union, and that it was the duty, as well as the right, of some of the imperilled States to prepare for a separation "amicably, if they can, violently, if they must." This

¹⁸ The "Orleans Territory" referred to the territory now included in the State of Louisiana. The "District of Louisiana" embraced the remainder of the "Louisiana Purchase."

alleged grievance in the admission of southern and western States, the prosecution of the war against Great Britain, and the policies of the Democratic-Republican party so inflamed the discontent in New England that it was proposed, in addition to the measures already taken in opposition to the Federal government, to call a convention of Federalist leaders to decide on some

Nullification
and secession
sentiment,
1812-1815; the
Hartford
Convention



Map of the British campaign against New Orleans. On the way to New Orleans a British squadron of warships and a land force attempted to capture Fort Bowyer, at the entrance to Mobile Bay. This fort was successfully defended by 130 to 160 men under Major William Lawrence. These inflicted upon the British a loss of 162 in killed, besides those wounded and captured.

Constitution. They arrived in the Federal capital only to hear the news of the treaty of peace and of the victory at New Orleans. Consequently, no action was taken.

The Federalists were so discredited in public opinion that, in the election of 1816, their candidate for President, Rufus King, of New York, received the votes of but three States: Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware. James Monroe, the Republican-Democratic candidate, received the votes of the remaining sixteen States. With him was elected Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, Vice-President.

definite plan for action. This convention met at Hartford, December 15, 1814. After some weeks of discussion in secret sessions, delegates were sent to Washington to state their grievances and propose amendments to the

POINTS OF INTEREST: SUGGESTIONS FOR READING OR DISCUSSION

It is impossible to present, in the limits of this volume, extended accounts of the naval engagements of the War of 1812. The most famous of the American frigates was the *Constitution*. In August, 1812, she defeated the frigate *Guerrière*. The *Guerrière* was inferior in fighting force, but the *Constitution* was handled by Captain Isaac Hull with such skill that the British vessel was helpless in half an hour. Under Captain Bainbridge, the *Constitution* had a much more

"Old
Ironsides",



CAPTURE OF THE "CYANE" AND "LEVANT" BY THE "CONSTITUTION"

February 20, 1815. This naval combat took place near the Madeira Islands nearly two months after peace had been declared between Great Britain and the United States.

severe encounter with the frigate *Java* off the coast of Brazil in December, 1812. This engagement lasted two hours and the British vessel lost one-third of her crew. The *Java* was a total wreck. After this, the *Constitution* was blockaded in Boston until New Year's Day, 1814. Off the Madeira Islands, on the 20th of February, 1815, nearly two months after peace had been declared, the *Constitution* defeated and captured two British war vessels in the last great fight of her remarkable career. (Read Oliver Wendell Holmes' poem, "Old Ironsides.")

On page 191 mention is made of two boys as having been wounded on board the *President*. The United States Naval Academy was not then in existence, so that boys obtained their entire naval education at sea. In the War of 1812, David G.

Midshipmen Farragut and Ingraham Farragut, of Tennessee, Nathaniel Duncan Ingraham, of South Carolina, and others, were "called to the colors" before they were twelve years old. Farragut became the first Admiral of the United States navy and served on the Union side in the War of Secession. Ingraham, in command of the *St. Louis*, won distinction in the United States navy, and afterwards became a commodore in the service of the Confederacy.

Out of fifteen ship duels in the War of 1812, the American navy lost but three.

The loss of the "Chesapeake," June, 1813 Off the Massachusetts coast, in June, 1813, the British frigate *Shannon* challenged and defeated the *Chesapeake*, com-

manded by Captain Lawrence. The *Shannon* was so well handled that, in fifteen minutes, the *Chesapeake* was helpless and her commander mortally wounded. Lawrence's last words, as he lay dying, "Don't give up the ship," were chosen as a motto by Perry when he went into the battle of Lake Erie a few months later.

During the night of the bombardment of Fort M'Henry, at Baltimore, Francis Scott Key anxiously paced the deck of the *Minden*, where, under a flag of truce, he had gone to secure the release of an American physician. That

Birth of "The Star-Spangled Banner," Sept. 14, 1814

night the fate of the city was in the balance. When, in the morning, Key saw the American flag still flying, he wrote on the back of a letter the words of "The Star-Spangled Banner," which has become our national anthem.

During the War of 1812, there were many brave deeds done by men who were in command of small bodies of troops. On one occasion, General Harrison sent orders to the youthful Major George Croghan to set fire to Fort Stephenson (now Fremont), Ohio, and to retire before a rapidly advancing force of British and Indians. Fort Stephenson had a garrison of 160 men



COMMODORE STEPHEN
DECATUR

Born Maryland, January 5, 1779; served in Tripoli, the War of 1812, and the War with the Barbary States, 1815. Killed in duel with Commodore Barron, 1820.

and but one small cannon. Croghan was so anxious to fight that he promptly sent back word: "We are determined to maintain the place, and by Heaven we will!" The British were led by General Proctor, who threatened a general massacre by his Indian allies, if there should be any resistance by the Americans. Croghan replied that there would be resistance; but that, if the fort should be taken, there would be no one left to massacre. After an all-night bombardment of the stockade, the British and Indians advanced to the attack. Although the attacking forces outnumbered the Americans about four to one, they were repulsed at every point. Croghan concealed his one cannon until a heavy column of the enemy advanced along the line of a ditch. He then opened fire with great effect. Croghan lost but eight men killed and wounded, while the British and Indians lost a number nearly equal to the entire American force.

A somewhat similar independence of action was displayed by General Samuel Smith, when the British attacked Baltimore. He refused to yield command of the Maryland militia to General Winder, of the Federal army, upon whom may be laid much of the blame for the defeat at Bladensburg and the capture of Washington (see p. 195). Smith kept his command, saved Baltimore, and possibly Philadelphia, from capture by the British, for General Ross had declared his purpose of making Baltimore the British headquarters for the coming winter season.

In the Southwest, the Creek Indians (p. 194) fought as bravely as any white troops. They had been stirred to action by Tecumseh and his brother, "The Prophet." Tecumseh is said to have declared that the southern Indians would hear the stamp of his foot all the way from Detroit. Shortly afterwards, there was an earthquake shock, and the Indians were fully convinced that it was the "stamp" of Tecumseh. The Indians never fought more fiercely than in this war, and when Jackson and his men surrounded them in their forts they would neither give up nor ask for quarter.

Major
George
Croghan

General
Samuel
Smith

Desperate
bravery of
the Creek
Indians

CHAPTER X

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN PERIOD, FROM CLOSE OF WAR OF 1812 TO BEGINNING OF JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

Period of Growth and Political Harmony.—At the close of the War of 1812, the government was in debt, and the Democratic-Republican party felt compelled to take up a measure which had been advocated by Hamilton

**Bank of
United
States re-
established**

and the Federalists after the Revolution. This was the establishment of the Bank of the United States. The twenty-year charter of the first Federal Bank had expired in 1811. The Bank was re-established in 1816 and was granted, as before, a twenty-year charter. As we shall see later, however, its unpopularity with the masses of the people became the cause of a great political conflict under President Andrew Jackson.



JAMES MONROE

Born in Virginia, April 28, 1758; served in Continental Army during Revolution; Minister to France, 1794-'96; Secretary of State under Madison; President, 1817-'25; proclaimed "Monroe Doctrine" in 1823. Died July 4, 1831.

**A tariff for
protection,
1816**

Of far greater importance than the re-establishment of the Bank of the United States was the support given by leading representatives of the Democratic-Republican party to Federalist views in favor of a tariff, or import tax, *for protection*, in addition to the tariff *for revenue*. This change of policy not only served to split the Demo-

cratic-Republican party, but also prepared the way for serious sectional division; so that the tariff, united with the social question of slavery, soon divided the country *into a North and a South with opposing interests*. The agricultural interests of the South clashed with the manufacturing interests of the North, so that, for many years, patriots from either section endeavored to maintain "a balance of power" similar to that sought by rival nations in Europe.¹

From Jefferson's administration until 1815, the non-intercourse acts and the War with Great Britain largely prevented imports. The American manufacturer, therefore, had little competition during this period. At the close of the war, manufacturing interests besought Congress to "protect" them against cheaper foreign goods by imposing a heavier tariff, or import duty. It was believed that if the foreign goods came in with a revenue tariff only, many of the recently-established American manufactories would be driven out of business.

The southern and western States were largely devoted to agricultural pursuits and were not interested in manufactures; but John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, and Henry Clay, of Kentucky, the two men chiefly responsible for the declaration of war against Great Britain, now came forward and proposed a tariff for protection. Calhoun was opposed to the principle of protective tariffs, but he believed that if the pro-

Object of
tariff
protection

¹ To the teacher: See especially De Toqueville's "Democracy in America," published in 1835.

protective tariff were granted *for a brief period*, the American manufacturers would become strong enough to get along without it. Clay believed that the West would be benefited by using the receipts from higher tariffs in the construction of Federal roads connecting the West with the East.²

At that time (1816), Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, represented the *shipping interests* of New England. He therefore opposed the protective tariff. He saw what Calhoun failed to see—that the protective rates were

likely to
The tariff as
a sectional
issue increase
rather than

decrease; and that if they did increase, there would be less demand for American shipping. A tariff bill, based on "protective"



MISSISSIPPI FLAT-BOAT

Before the coming, in 1811, of the steam-boat west of the Alleghanies, produce was carried down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in "flat-boats." These were sold or otherwise disposed of at New Orleans, and the flat-boat men made their way northward as best they could by land.

principles, was, however, passed over the protest of Webster and a large minority of the Democratic-Republican party. From that time, for a hundred years, there was to be political unrest over this subject.³ To the period of the War of Secession, it was

² The South and the West were in the position of the "consumer," the North and the East, largely in the position of the manufacturer. The consumer tries to get the things he uses as cheaply as possible; and the manufacturer tries to get all he can for what he makes.

³ At the present time, or one hundred years after the passage of the tariff bill under discussion, it is believed by many that a tariff commission, provided for by the Federal Government, would take the tariff issue out of politics.

largely a sectional issue. Some years after the war, however, the South began to develop its manufacturing and commercial resources, and, with this development, came considerable sentiment in that section in favor of a protective tariff.

In 1800, the Federal Government, under Jefferson's leadership, had adopted a liberal policy in



THE "CLERMONT" FULTON'S FIRST STEAMBOAT

In 1807 this vessel made its first trip from New York to Albany. The *Clermont* had been preceded by the steamboats of James Rumsey in Virginia, William Longstreet in Georgia, and John Fitch on the Delaware; but Fulton made such great improvements in his steamboat that steamboat navigation was continuous from the first trip of the *Clermont* to the present time.

developing the public lands of the Northwest Territory. It permitted settlers of small means to go into that territory and buy what they could pay for, part of the payment to be made after the settler had got his "start." From this time, the Northwest developed very rapidly. Ohio was admitted into the Union in 1803; in 1816 Indiana was admitted; and Illinois became a State two years later.⁴

Development
of the
Northwest

⁴The Federalist plan, in keeping with the ideas of Hamilton, required that the land should be sold in large tracts. Under that plan only the wealthy were able to buy land for settlement.

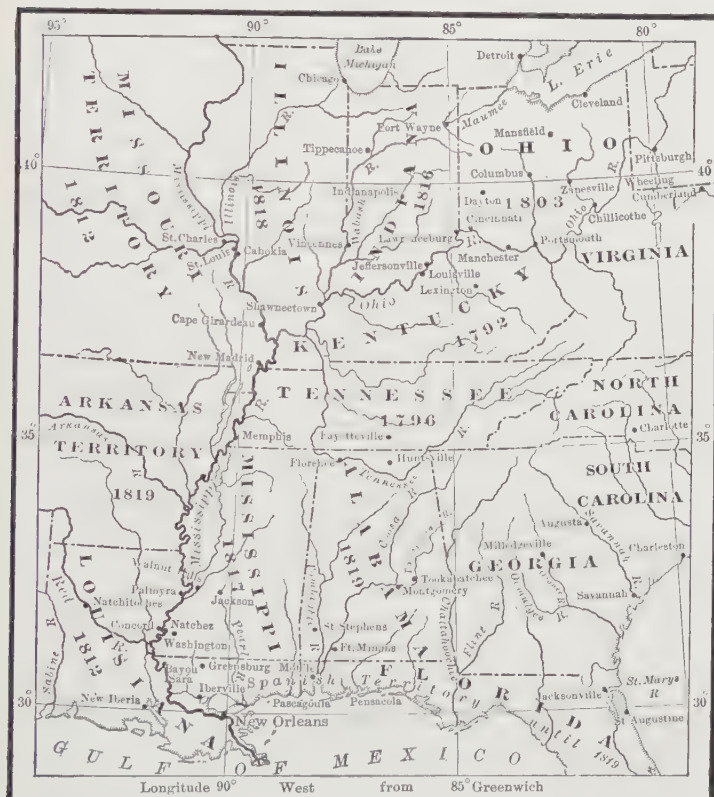
In order to aid settlement in the West, Congress began (1806) the "National Road," which soon connected the rapidly-growing western towns with Washington and Baltimore through Wheeling, Cumberland, and Frederick. Later, a much-traveled State road connected Buffalo with Cleveland and other points. Steamboats also helped in developing the whole length of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, and the value of goods received at New Orleans increased by leaps and bounds. The whole Northwest, with its log cabins and its "home-made" clothes, furniture, and implements, represented "the country where men hewed out their own place in life." It was a great stronghold of democracy.

The victories of Andrew Jackson and the consequent cessions of land by the Creek Indians brought about expansion and settlement in the Southwest.

**Development
of the
Southwest** In 1812, the Mississippi Territory roughly included the country between Georgia and the Mississippi River. From this Territory, the States of Mississippi and Alabama were formed. Mississippi was admitted into the Union in 1817, and Alabama in 1819.

The settlement of this territory, with its modes of life and social customs, was quite unlike that in the Northwest. Both sections were at first given over almost wholly to agriculture. The climate and crops were very different, however. The Northwest was devoted to the raising of wheat and corn and cattle; the farms were generally smaller than in the South. Since labor was scarce, the settlers did the

bulk of it themselves and treated their "help" on terms of equality. Living was far from easy and the hardships were great, especially in the winter



MAP SHOWING WESTERN EXPANSION IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE WAR OF 1812

season. In the Southwest, on the other hand, the winters were mild, but the heat of the summer made labor burdensome. There was one great crop, cotton, which promised yields not unlike those from the oil

wells of later times. Land was bought in large tracts and negro slaves were imported to work on large plantations. Those settlers who did not bring slaves with them were forced to employ them, if they wished to achieve an equal measure of success. So completely was the land given over to the raising of cotton that the people were dependent upon the Northwest for meat and grain and upon the Northeast for almost every manufactured article used on the farm or in the household. When cotton prices were high and the crops good, the people prospered; but, in general, the wealthiest planters lived in hospitable profusion and abundance rather than in luxury.⁵

During Monroe's administration, trouble arose on the Florida border. The Seminole Indians made raids on the neighboring States, and, after these raids, they would retreat into Spanish territory. The settlers came to believe that the Indians were encouraged and even aided by the Spanish. The Federal Government sent Andrew Jackson to subdue the Seminoles; but, when the

Purchase of
Florida

⁵ To the teacher: It should also be made clear that life in the Southwest and in the "Lower South" differed greatly from life in the upper southern States, such as Virginia, Kentucky, and Maryland, while the Northwest offered still further differences. When people went, as they frequently did go, from one section to settle in another of almost opposite customs, they readily adopted the new modes of living and thought. When those from southern communities emigrated to the Northwest, they often became the strongest upholders of the conditions there. In the same way, those who went from the North to the Southwest liked the social order there and warmly supported it.

Indians retired across the border, he followed them and seized the Spanish towns of St. Marks and Pensacola. A possible conflict with Spain was averted by the purchase of Florida by the United States (1821). The price agreed upon was \$5,000,000.

Renewal of Political Strife.—In 1819, a question arose with regard to the formation of further new States out of the Louisiana Territory. Missouri sought admission into the Union as a slave State. If admitted with slavery, the State would probably ally itself in politics with the South; if it were admitted without slavery, it would be likely to identify itself with the political thought and policies of the North.

Sectional
struggle for
political con-
trol of new
States

A compromise was finally reached by which the "balance of power" was maintained. Missouri was admitted as a "slave State" and Maine, at about the same time, as a "free State." Another part of the compromise was the provision made for the rest of the Louisiana District. Slave labor was prohibited north of the parallel 36° 30', while nothing was said of the territory south of that line.

The Missouri
Compromise,
1820

This compromise proved to be a great triumph for the North. Politically, the South became gradually weaker, and that section began to fear the rapidly growing power of the Northeast as the Northeast had formerly feared the power of the South. The West, which, against the opposition of the Northeast, had heretofore aided the South in securing new territory for the Union, now became divided; and its larger and more populous portion

joined the Northeast in a political struggle against the South.

It was clearly seen that slavery, which might be profitable in the lower South, would become a blight upon the development of the Northwest.⁶ The vast number of immigrants then pouring into the United States disliked slavery, and that element settled almost wholly in the North. In 1787, the slave-holder had voluntarily excluded himself from the Northwest Territory; and, by the Missouri Compromise, *he was excluded from all States* which might be formed north of the southern boundary of Missouri, while his "property" was not safeguarded south of that line. Patriotic and far-sighted men hoped that slavery would be excluded from the new territory. Unhappily, however, other men saw that slavery could be made a political issue to serve selfish ends or sectional purposes. When Thomas Jefferson saw, in his declining years, the first evidences of this latter tendency, he declared that the ill-will thus aroused between the sections alarmed him as the sound of fire-bells at night. "I tremble," he wrote, "for the safety of the Union." In view of the great number of negroes in the South, Jefferson had said that the question of the abolition of slavery was like the problem of a man who was holding a wolf by the ears: it was difficult to hold on and dangerous to let go. He was among the first to

Slavery as
an economic
and political
issue

⁶ Some of those who emigrated from the South to the Northwest wished to take slaves with them; others were among the most determined opponents of the extension of slave territory.

see the mistake of slavery; yet, he believed that, since the importation of slaves from Africa had been stopped, the diffusion of slavery over new territory in America would lead the more readily to gradual emancipation.

Emancipation sentiment was especially strong in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky. In 1832, the Virginia Legisla-
Emancipation sentiment in the "Upper South"
ture came within a few votes of passing an emancipation measure for that State; while in North Carolina, during the first third of the



R. A. Lancaster's Historic Virginia Homes and Churches

Mount Vernon, the home of George Washington, on the Potomac in Virginia. A rear view, showing the negro slave quarters. In 1859 the house and 200 acres around it were bought from the family of Bushrod Washington by the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.

nineteenth century, there were more emancipation societies than in any other State in the Union. The extreme violence, however, of some of the abolitionists in the North, the efforts to arouse slave insurrections in the South, and politics in both sections

hampered the emancipation movement in all the southern States (see p. 256).

In 1820, James Monroe was elected President for a second term, and the Government found itself facing an extremely serious problem, bearing not only upon its own future welfare, but upon its relations with the most powerful nations of the Old World.



THE "SAVANNAH"

The first steamboat to cross the Atlantic (1819). This vessel crossed the ocean from Savannah to Liverpool in 27 days, propelled by steam and sail.

Spanish colonies in South America had rebelled against the mother country and had set up independent governments. It appeared that some of the nations of Europe were getting ready to support Spain in an effort to recover her lost possessions; furthermore, Russia had already secured Alaska and was preparing to claim the Oregon country. In a message to Congress in 1823, President Monroe declared that any attempt by European nations to conquer or interfere with an

The Monroe
Doctrine
proclaimed,
1823

independent American government would not be regarded with favor by the United States; and that the Western Hemisphere was closed to further colonization by European powers.⁷

In 1824, there were four candidates for President, all of them asserting that they represented the Democratic-Republican party. These candidates were John Quincy Adams, a son of John Adams; General Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; William H. Crawford, of Georgia; and Henry Clay, of Kentucky. Jackson received 99 electoral votes; Adams, 84; Crawford, 41; and Clay, 37. No candidate received a *majority* of the votes cast; so, according to the provisions of the Constitution, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives (Article XII, Amendments to the Constitution). In Congress, the followers of Clay supported Adams and the latter was elected President. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, was elected Vice-President.

Election of
John Quincy
Adams, 1824

Since Jackson had received the largest popular vote, the action of the House of Representatives in

⁷ Monroe further stated that it was equally contrary to United States policies and ideals to interfere with affairs pertaining to the nations of Europe.

To the teacher: It may be deemed advisable to refer to the various applications of the Monroe Doctrine, from the appearance of a French fleet in western waters in 1824 to the Venezuela dispute under Cleveland; and to the later interpretations by Presidents Roosevelt and Wilson. For the earlier points in controversy, an excellent reference work is "The United States," by Wiley and Rines. These volumes present, in their entirety, an unusual number of public documents.

electing Adams aroused the bitterest feelings among the supporters of Jackson. Subsequently, when Adams made Clay Secretary of State, a "bargain and corruption" cry was raised. This accusation was

Political
strife
between
Jackson and
Adams

unjust to both men; but the friends of Jackson made the most of it. Jackson himself, although a man of strong will and high principles, was not a good judge of character and motives, and men soon found that they could use him to forward their own selfish purposes.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

Born Braintree, Massachusetts, July 11, 1767. Minister to Holland, 1794; United States Senator, 1802; Minister to Russia, 1809, Great Britain, 1815; Secretary of State under Monroe; President, 1825-'29; elected to Congress, 1831-'48. Died 1848.

The "Tariff
of Abominations," 1828

On the other hand, Adams was not a popular hero like Jackson, or a great political leader like Clay. He was inclined to favor many of the old Federalist ideas; and he was distinctly out of touch with the democracy of the West, the principles of which were invading the East and bringing with them "manhood suffrage," regardless of social position or property-holdings (see p. 271).

The most important event of John Quincy Adams' administration was the passage of a tariff bill which became known as the "Tariff of Abominations." This measure did as much to arouse antagonism in the South as the embargo act had done to stir up opposition in New England. As Webster had foreseen (see p. 206), the protective tariff duties increased as the years went by; but that statesman was now in favor of the

tariff, because the majority of his constituents, or supporters, had become interested in manufacturing. The South and the West opposed increases in the tariff duties; but some of the Jackson Democrats, as they began to be called, voted for the most marked increases in the tariff duties, not because they believed these were right, but because they thought they would help to make the bill even more obnoxious and thereby increase the popular feeling against Adams and Clay.

The "Jacksonian Era."—As expected by the supporters of Jackson, great opposition was aroused against the tariff in the West and the South, and this was especially pronounced in the latter section. Indignation meetings were held; the law was pronounced unconstitutional, while nullification and secession were threatened against a form of taxation that "increased the cost of everything the Southern States bought and tended to decrease the price of what they had to sell." In 1828, the contest lay between Jackson and Calhoun, on the one hand, and Adams and Rush (of Pennsylvania), on the other. Jackson and Calhoun won by a decisive vote; and the tariff question was not then brought sharply to an issue, for it was believed by its opponents that Congress would act in accordance with the views of the President and Vice-President and bring about a sharp reduction in the tariff rates.

In accordance with his policy of rewarding his supporters and punishing his opponents, Jackson

Election of
Andrew
Jackson, 1828

made wholesale removals from government positions, whether the men removed had done good work or not. In their place, he appointed his friends, or those

The "Spoils System" developed under Jackson

recommended by his friends, without investigation as to their fitness to fill the positions given them. Selfish and corrupt men flattered Jackson in order to secure advantage for themselves and profit at the expense of the Government.

"To the victor belong the spoils" was the cry of Jackson's followers; and the "Spoils System," encouraged, if not established, by Jackson, played a leading rôle in the corruption of the administration of government until, many years later, it was largely overthrown by the movement for "Civil Service Reform."



ANDREW JACKSON

Born Waxhaw, on North Carolina-South Carolina border, March 15, 1761; first representative in Congress from Tennessee, 1796; leader in Indian campaigns; victor at New Orleans, 1815; President, 1829-'37. Died 1845.

Jackson on nullification issues

While Jackson lessened the efficiency of the Government through the appointment of unfit officials, his strong personality extended the powers of the Executive and of the Federal Government; but, even in the matter of upholding the authority of the Federal Government, his personal feelings seemed unduly to influence his actions. Indeed, it is difficult, in a few words, to make clear the mixed good and evil which came of Jackson's election and administration. His own motives were good and he thought that the motives of his principal advisers

ment, his personal feelings seemed unduly to influence his actions. Indeed, it is difficult, in a few words, to make clear the mixed good and evil which came of Jackson's election and administration. His own motives were good and he thought that the motives of his principal advisers

were equally good. On the other hand, he believed that those who opposed him were enemies of his country.⁸ Three instances of State interference, or nullification, which happened in his administration, appear to illustrate the point in question.

In the first of these cases of nullification of Federal authority, the State of Georgia practically took pos-



JOHN MARSHALL

Born Fauquier County, Virginia, September 24, 1755; among the first to join patriot forces in Virginia in the Revolution; served in Continental Army; envoy to France under Adams; Secretary of State, 1800; Chief Justice of United States Supreme Court from 1801 to his death in 1835.

session of the lands of the Cherokee Indians. The Cherokees appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States for protection, and Chief Justice Marshall and the

Nullification
practised in
Georgia

Court upheld the claims of the Indians. Georgia, however, defied the decision; and, as Jackson was opposed to the Cherokee contentions, that State was triumphant, because, without the aid of the President, the Supreme Court was powerless to enforce its rulings.

In the second instance of State interference, Maine and Massachusetts declared that, if the Senate ratified a provision of the treaty of Ghent (1814), and gave to Canada a strip of land claimed by Maine, neither

⁸ In his diplomatic work and in civil life, John Quincy Adams had labored as hard for the welfare of his country as had Jackson on the field of battle; nevertheless, Jackson permitted Adams to be abused in a fashion so offensive to the latter that Adams could not persuade himself to stay in Washington to give the customary greeting to his successor in office.

State would regard the treaty as binding. The Senate finally gave way and yielded the issue. In this case,

**Nullification
principles
announced in
Maine and
Massachu-
setts**

Jackson was somewhat disposed to interfere against the States in order to keep the terms of the Federal treaty; for, as the stronghold of his political opponents, he did not like New England. On the other hand, he had always fought against Great Britain, and did not show much disappointment when the Senate failed to ratify the final award under the terms of the treaty."

The third instance of nullification under Jackson was the interference by the State of South Carolina in the collection of customs at Charleston under the provision of the tariff law of 1832, which, contrary to expectations, had made very few changes in the alleged excessive duties under the "Tariff of Abominations" (p. 216).

**Nullification
principles
proclaimed
in South
Carolina**

Since the passage of the tariff bill of 1828, Jackson had had a quarrel with Vice-President Calhoun. The President had found out that Calhoun, as a member of Adams' Cabinet, had disapproved of his action in the invasion of Florida during the war against the Seminoles. Consequently, in the campaign of 1832, Martin Van Buren had been nominated for Vice-President by the Democrats in place of Calhoun. Jackson, more than ever a

**Jackson re-
elected
President,
1832**

* Whether Jackson would have attempted to compel the States to yield is an interesting question. The Governments of Great Britain and the United States had agreed to submit the boundary question in dispute to an arbitrator. The arbitrator chosen was the King of the Netherlands, who awarded the territory under discussion to Canada.

popular idol, had been elected by a large majority over Henry Clay, National-Republican.

After the election, South Carolina had declared that the tariff was unconstitutional and not binding on that State. Accordingly, steps were taken to

carry nullification into effect by preventing the Federal revenue officers from collecting import duties at the port of Charleston. This threat aroused Jackson, and the Administration leaders prepared a "Force Bill" to put the Federal army and navy at the service of the President to uphold the tariff law. For her part, South Carolina had already called out her militia and was prepared for armed resistance.

No one questions the courage and determination of Jackson, on the one hand, or of the people of South Carolina, on the other; but

Jackson, now bitterly hostile to Calhoun, determined to enforce the law, although he disapproved of its provisions. Calhoun and the South Carolinians were equally determined to resist what they denounced as "unjust, unconstitutional, and inequitable" taxation. There would probably have been war, but for the mediation of Henry Clay, of Kentucky, sometimes called "The Great Pacificator."¹⁰ He introduced a bill in Con-

Tariff and
nullification
compromise



JOHN C. CALHOUN

Born Abbeville District, South Carolina, March 18, 1782. Served in House of Representatives, the Senate, and in Cabinet positions; with Clay, prominent in bringing on War of 1812; Vice-President, 1825-'32; favored protective tariff in 1816, but opposed its growth, exchanging positions thereon with Webster; supported annexation of Texas. Died 1850.

gress which provided for the gradual reduction of the tariff rates. By this, Clay pleased the South and a large part of the West as well. At the same time, as a part of the compromise, *Federal supremacy in the matter of the collections of tariff duties was formally asserted*. The nullification ordinance was forthwith repealed by South Carolina, and the issue between the Federal Government and that State was peaceably settled. The principle of nullification itself was not decided, and that doctrine next appeared in the Northern States, where, for many years, it was successfully practised in protest against the alleged injustice of the Federal fugitive slave laws.¹¹

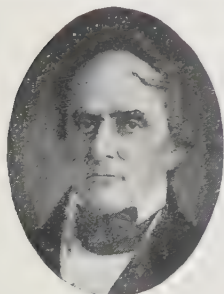
To Jackson, the United States Bank, established by the Federalists in 1791 and re-established by the Democratic-Republicans in 1816 (p. 204), was an object of special dislike. It has even been said that Jackson could not hear the name of the Bank mentioned without flying into a passion. In 1832, therefore, he refused to sign a bill to renew its charter,

¹⁰ He had proposed also the terms of the famous Missouri Compromise (see p. 211).

¹¹ The doctrine of State sovereignty (see p. 192) was so strong at this time that there is little doubt that Jackson's policy of force would have aroused resistance in other States besides South Carolina. If a war over the alleged right of secession had occurred in 1832, it is not unlikely that the Union would have been dissolved. Daniel Webster, who spoke most strongly against the principle of nullification, as threatened by South Carolina, spoke twenty years later against nullification as practised by Massachusetts. Because of this attitude on Webster's part, the poet Whittier composed the poem "Ichabod," which lamented the "dead" fame and "lost honor" of that great orator and statesman. Happily, however, the world has not accepted Whittier's estimate of Webster.

which was due to expire four years later. Henry Clay had insisted on taking up the renewal of the charter as an issue in the elections of that year. Jackson accepted the challenge and took advantage of the distrust of the Bank on the part of the masses of the people. As

Jackson finally overthrows the Bank of the United States, 1836



DANIEL WEBSTER

Born Salisbury, New Hampshire, January 18, 1782. Opposed War of 1812 served in House as Representative from New Hampshire; later represented Massachusetts in United States Senate; at first opposed protective tariff, but later supported its extension; opposed nullification in South Carolina and the annexation of Texas. Died 1852.

soon as the election returns showed that he was supported by public opinion, he gave orders to the collectors of United States revenue to put no more money into the Federal Bank. He also ordered that the Government money already on deposit should be withdrawn; so that, in 1836, the Bank of the United States ceased to exist with the expiration of its charter. The Federal deposits were then made with various State banks, which were called by Jackson's opponents his "pet banks."

One of Jackson's political advisers was Martin Van Buren, of New York. Jackson made it known that he wished Van Buren to succeed him as the leader of the Democratic party. In 1836, Van Buren was elected over his chief opponent, William H. Harrison, "National-Republican," who later became the leader of the Whig party.¹²

Van Buren elected President, 1836

¹² In the campaign of 1832, the candidates for President were for the first time nominated by conventions. For the first time, also, the principles of the parties were set forth in what we call "platform" beliefs and promises.

POINTS OF INTEREST; SUGGESTIONS FOR READING OR DISCUSSION

Thomas Jefferson and John Adams died during the Presidency of John Quincy Adams. Both died on the same day, July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. Each had reached an advanced age (see biographical sketches), and each died in the belief that the other survived him. It is said that John Adams' last words were: "Thomas Jefferson still lives." At one period of the careers of these two statesmen, each distrusted and disliked the other; but, happily, as they grew older, they became good friends, and kept in touch with each other by correspondence. John Adams, the Federalist, lived to see his son President of the United States and a member of the party founded by Jefferson, his former political foe.

**Death of
Thomas
Jefferson
and John
Adams,
July 4, 1826**

Two years before the death of Jefferson and Adams, Lafayette returned to America and was received with a country-wide welcome. He had been invited by President Monroe at the special request of Congress. Since Lafayette had lost much of his private fortune during the course of the French Revolution, Congress voted him two hundred thousand dollars and a township of land in the west.

**Visit of
Lafayette,
1824**

Lessons may be derived from the life of Jefferson fully as inspiring as those drawn from the life of Washington, some of which are pointed out on p. 174. Jefferson was the pen of the Revolution, as Washington was its sword. Other men might have been found to draw up the Declaration of Independence; but Jefferson possessed and improved a greater number of talents than any other American of his day. He had, like Washington, acquired a country-school education; but, in the Reverend James Maury, the grandfather of Matthew Fontaine Maury (see p. 270), he had an unusually able instructor. He was studious, as well as fond of outdoor life; and, like Washington, he was over six feet tall. But Thomas Jefferson turned his mind to many things; and, what is more remarkable, he excelled at almost everything he undertook. He became great in knowledge of human nature and in his ability to aid the progress of the people towards better things

**Lessons from
the life of
Jefferson**

in government, in statecraft, in education, in social customs, in science, in art, in architecture, and in many other things.¹³

It has been said that, "politics were never so mild" as during the period immediately following the collapse of the Federalist party. Monroe was elected for his second term in 1820 with only one vote cast against him. This one elector cast his ballot against him, not because he was opposed to Monroe, but because he did not wish anyone but Washington to receive a unanimous vote for the Presidency. On the other hand, it may be said that there never was, in the history of this country, a more bitter political fight than that waged between John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, from 1824 to 1828. Later, there was so much sectional and party hatred aroused by the tariff law and the slavery question that there were frequently scenes of violence on the floors of Congress.

Political
quiet under
Monroe, and
the unrest
under
Jackson

In speaking of the great senatorial speeches of Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Hayne, and others, it was long the custom for those who had heard them to use the expression: "There were giants in those days." Especially noted were the debates between Webster and Hayne, and between Webster and Calhoun, in which Webster raised his powerful voice in favor of an "indissoluble Union," rather than a "Federated Republic." Hayne and Calhoun based their arguments on the idea that the Union was intended to be a Federal Republic in which the States could interpose their authority to protect themselves against injustice or injury at the hands of the Central Federal Government. These were the views of Jefferson as expressed in the "Kentucky Resolutions"; of Madison, in the "Virginia Resolutions"; and the views laid down, at one time or another, by all of the older States in the Union.

Clay,
Calhoun,
Webster,
Hayne

On page 88 mention is made of the Mohawk Valley as being in early colonial times, the easiest route to the West.

¹³ To the teacher: This subject has been treated at some length, not with the idea of presenting even approximately a full review of the work of Thomas Jefferson, but with the purpose of giving the pupils food for thought and ideas, investigation and discussion.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Philadelphia and Baltimore excelled New York in attracting the overland trade of the West. In 1803, however, Gouverneur Morris suggested the construction of a canal from Albany westward, in order to connect New York City with Lake Erie by an all-water route. DeWitt Clinton seized hold of the idea, and, against much opposition in New York City and State, was able to begin building his "Big Ditch" in 1817. In 1825, the canal, 352 miles in length, was completed. Passage time for freight was cut down one-half, or from 20 days to 10, while passengers were carried from one end to the other in what was considered the remarkably short time of three and a half days. Freight rates, also, were lowered from \$100 to \$10 and \$3 a ton.

The completion of the Erie Canal marked the beginning of the supremacy of New York City over the cities of America, and eventually of the world itself. Great cities sprang up along this man-made water-way and its natural extension through the Great Lakes. Some of these cities, each larger than the New York City of that day, are: Utica, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, and Toledo, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit.

Lighting by gas and heating by means of anthracite coal came into use in the early part of the nineteenth century, although neither hard coal nor gas was immediately thought practicable for the purpose proposed. In 1806, Daniel Melville, of Newport, Rhode Island, lighted his house and the street in front of it with gas. Little was thought of the idea until, in 1816, a company was chartered to manufacture gas in Baltimore. The new method of lighting was thought very wonderful, and people came miles to see it in actual use. As yet, no one dreamed of the *natural gas* which was, in later times, to be released from under the soil and used in so many communities for both light and heat.

**Construction
of the Erie
Canal or
Clinton's
"Big Ditch"**

**Introduction
of artificial
gas for
lighting**

CHAPTER XI

FROM 1837 TO 1861—PERIOD OF POLITICAL STRIFE ON SECTIONAL LINES

Presidency of Martin Van Buren.—A financial panic followed the inauguration of President Van Buren. After the overthrow of the United States Bank, a great number of State banks were organized; but



MARTIN VAN BUREN

Born Kinderhook, New York, December 5, 1782. Elected to United States Senate, 1812; Secretary of State under Jackson, 1829; Vice-President, 1833-'37; President, 1837-'41. Free Soil candidate for President, 1848. Died 1862.

these lacked the safeguards that are now placed around banking institutions by law. Many of them were badly managed and had little money in reserve. The surplus funds lent to these banks by the Federal Government were, in turn,

Financial
panic under
Van Buren,
1837

lent out to speculators. When the Government called for its money, the banks were unable to pay, and many of them failed. United States sub-treasuries were thereafter established as places for deposit of Government funds; and this system, with some changes, was maintained until Federal Reserve Banks were established, about seventy-five years later, under the currency reform legislation passed by Congress during the administration of President Wilson.¹

¹ The system of National Banks was created during the War of Secession.

In spite of this period of business depression under Van Buren, the frontier line was pushed westward, and settlement was extended in the South and Southwest. The steamboat developed travel and



An old printing press and type case, said to have been used by Benjamin Franklin

trade on the Great Lakes, and the population of Michigan Territory doubled in the ten years from 1820 to 1830. Most of this growth took place after the opening of the Erie Canal (p. 226); and in 1837 Michigan was admitted into the Union as the twenty-sixth State.

Western
expansion
and develop-
ment

A series of treaties with the Indian tribes living in Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi arranged for their removal beyond the Mississippi River, into what became known as the Indian Territory. The land thus made vacant was taken up by white settlers, and most of it was devoted to the cultivation of cotton. Across the Mississippi, Arkansas, also with soil and climate adapted to the raising of cotton, had been admitted into the Union in 1836.²

Van Buren had been the choice of Jackson as the latter's successor; but the great democracy of the West had felt very much about Van Buren as it had felt about John Quincy Adams. The people believed he was out of sympathy with them. Moreover, he was held responsible for the "hard times" of 1837; although, on the contrary, Van Buren deserves especial credit for resisting a popular demand for temporary relief measures which might have injured business permanently. When, therefore, the Whigs nominated William Henry Harrison, a soldier and Southerner who had "grown up with the West," the masses of the people rallied around him as they

² Conflicts with the Indians marked the advance of settlement in both the South and the Northwest. Oseecola, or Black Drink, led the Seminoles of Florida in revolt in the last of the Indian wars of the East. In the Northwest, Black Hawk and his warriors had ravaged (1831-'32) the country from Chicago westward. It is interesting to note that in this war Captain Jefferson Davis, of the regular army, had under him a volunteer private named Abraham Lincoln. Both had been born in Kentucky; one was to be the President of the United States at the time the other was elected President of the Southern Confederacy.

had done around Jackson. John Tyler, of Virginia, was nominated with him. The people recalled Harrison's first victory over the Indians just before the War of 1812; hence the campaign cry of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too!" (see p. 191) was raised by the Whigs. When the Democrats made fun of Harrison as a man content to live in a log cabin with a barrel of hard cider, the Whigs promptly made hundreds of log-cabin banners and raised a shout for "the log cabin, the cider barrel, and reform." Harrison and Tyler carried nineteen out of twenty-six States, Virginia, the home of both the successful candidates, giving more than half the votes against them.

Annexation of Texas and War with Mexico.—Harrison died one month after his inauguration, and

Vice-President Tyler becomes President, 1840

Tyler took the oath of office as the first Vice-President called upon to take the place of the

President.³ There was a good deal of political discord during President Tyler's administration, chiefly



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

Born Charles City Co., Virginia, February 9, 1773; served in frontier and Indian campaigns; first governor of Indiana Territory; commander in Northwest during War of 1812; Congressman from Ohio; elected President 1840. Died 1841.

³ It may be of interest to the American boys who are studying this period to know that the spot is still pointed out at Williamsburg, Virginia, where, it is said, Vice-President Tyler was taking a "noon recess" from his office and was engaged in playing a game of marbles when the news came that Harrison's death had made him President. In earlier times, throughout the South and

owing to the fact that Tyler was in favor of the annexation of Texas. On the other hand, influential leaders, such as Webster, of Massachusetts, Clay, of Kentucky, and Van Buren, of New York, were vehemently opposed to the acquisition of that territory.

The story of Texas, its annexation to the United States, and the Mexican War may be presented more

conveniently in the following administration; for this question of expansion was the principal issue of the campaign of 1844. The Democrats nominated James K. Polk, of Tennessee, and George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, on a platform which favored annexation. The Whigs nominated Henry Clay, of Kentucky, just after Clay had declared himself strongly against the proposed annexation of Texas. The election

The question of annexation of Texas; election of Polk and Dallas



JOHN TYLER

Born Charles City Co., Virginia, March 29, 1790; United States Senator, 1827-'36; Vice-President, 1841; succeeded to Presidency, 1841; advocated annexation of Texas; presided over peace convention, 1861. Died 1862.

resulted in a victory for Polk and Dallas. Consequently, in 1844-'45, before his term had ended, Tyler made preparations for the passage

the West particularly, men would frequently gather in the small towns and engage in games of marbles, horseshoe pitching, and even in wrestling and running matches. In these sections a man in public life could rarely "put on any airs." Hence, politicians were very careful to keep "close to the people" and to take part in their games and outdoor life. Moreover, they enjoyed it; and perhaps it was good for both that they did so. These facts are further illustrated in the early public life of Abraham Lincoln in Illinois.

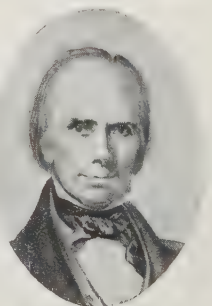
of a bill for the admission of Texas into the Union.

In the "Liberty" party of the North there was strong opposition to the admission of Texas as a step likely to increase the territory given over to slavery. The leader of this party was James G. Birney, of New York. Birney had been born in Kentucky, but had moved to Alabama. He had emancipated his slaves and moved again to New York. When, during the campaign, Clay had seemed to waver in his opposition to the admission of Texas, the "Free Soil" men of New York cast their votes for Birney for President rather than for Clay, thus helping to elect Polk and to pave the way for

Texas
admitted
into the
Union, 1845

the annexation of the
Republic of Texas.

Texas had been, in turn, a part of the Spanish possessions and of the Republic of Mexico. Under Spanish and Mexican rule, Moses Austin, of Connecticut, and his son, Stephen F. Austin, had obtained grants of land in 1820 and 1821. So successful were these pioneers in securing settlers from the United States that the Mexican Government became alarmed and forbade any further immigration from the States. Trouble arose between the settlers and Mexico, and in 1833 Texas rose in revolt. Two years later the



HENRY CLAY

Born Hanover County, Virginia, April 12, 1777. Elected to Congress from Kentucky, 1811; urged war with Great Britain, 1812; like Webster and Calhoun, served in Congress or in the Cabinet almost continuously to day of his death; was twice nominated for President, but was defeated; supported a protective tariff and a system of internal improvements by the Federal government. Died 1852.

Texans defeated the Mexicans in the battles of Gonzales and Goliad. In 1836, however, Santa Anna, the President of Mexico, invaded Texas with a large army. At the Alamo, an old Spanish mission used as a fort, David Crockett and 300 Texans were besieged. After a bloody conflict, the survivors surrendered; but all were massacred by the Mexicans. This cruelty on the part of Santa Anna enraged the Texans. With the cry: "Remember the Alamo!"



RESIDENCE OF PRESIDENT HOUSTON, OF TEXAS, 1836
(while the Capitol was being built)

The building up of the prosperous cities of the West has ever been one of the marvels of American energy. A few years sufficed to supplant a few log cabins with well-planned towns of substantial houses and capacious public buildings.

on their lips, they rallied under General Samuel Houston and decisively defeated the Mexicans at the battle of San Jacinto (1836). Santa Anna himself was captured, and Texas won her independence.

On securing her independence, Texas sought an-

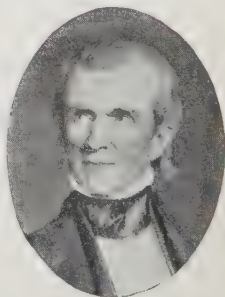
nexation to the United States; but, as before stated, no agreement could be reached until after the election of Polk and Dallas. In Congress, the opposition to annexation was defeated; and Texas, which had been an independent Republic for nine years, was, in December, 1845, admitted into the Union as the twenty-eighth State.

Although, since her defeat at San Jacinto, in 1836, Mexico had not attempted to regain Texas, she now declared that she regarded the annexation of that territory by the United States as an unfriendly act. The Mexican Government forthwith suspended diplomatic intercourse with the United States. A dispute had

arisen as to the bound-
 ary line between Texas
 and Mexico. Santa Anna had
 agreed that Texas should extend
 to the Rio Grande; but Mexico now
 attempted to set aside that agree-
 ment and claimed that the bound-
 ary line was formed by the Nueces
 River (see map, p. 237).

First blood-
 shed; war
 declared,
 1846

The territory in dispute was then unoccupied, so the United States Government sent General Zachary Taylor and a small force across the Nueces. After these troops had remained there several months, a Mexican force ambushed a small body of American regulars and killed or captured the entire detachment. This took place on



JAMES K. POLK

Born Mecklenburg Co., North Carolina, November 2, 1795; elected to Congress from Tennessee, 1825-'39; favored annexation of Texas; President, 1845-'49. Died 1849.

April 25, 1846; and Congress promptly declared that war had been begun by act of Mexico.

Taylor's army of 2000 men was greatly outnumbered by the Mexicans; but, after repelling one attack at Palo Alto, near the present site of Brownsville, Texas, he defeated the Mexicans on the following day (May 9) and drove them beyond the Rio Grande. Taylor crossed the Rio Grande, and, after three days of fighting at Monterey, again defeated the Mexicans.

Taylor's
Campaign in
northern
Mexico



BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA

The Mexicans, led by Santa Anna, were nearly successful in overwhelming the small force under General Zachary Taylor. The latter rode to the front and rallied his men, and victory was won, after two days' fighting, by the courage and skill of George H. Thomas, Jefferson Davis, and the fire of the batteries of T. W. Sherman and Braxton Bragg.

Taylor's progress was then stopped in order to give greater weight to the campaign of General Winfield Scott, which was directed against Mexico City by way of Vera Cruz. Santa Anna, believing that an opportunity had presented itself for driving Taylor out of Mexico, attacked Taylor's force of 5000 men with an army

Battle of
Buena Vista,
Feb. 22, 23,
1847

four times as large. In a fierce two days' battle at Buena Vista, February 22-23, 1847, Taylor succeeded in defeating the Mexicans and driving them off the field.⁴

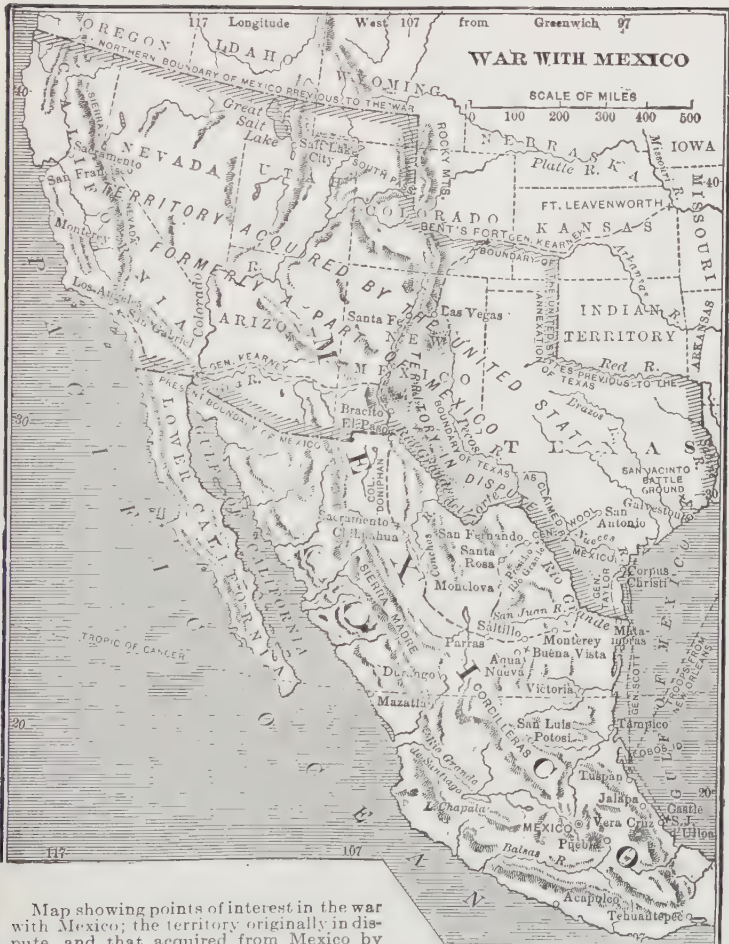
After the battle of Buena Vista, General Scott, with 12,000 men, captured Vera Cruz and began a march upon Mexico City. Although the United States forces were victorious in every important engagement in the six months' campaign that followed, the Mexicans fought stubbornly all the way. On many occasions it seemed certain that the invaders must be repelled or defeated, but in every case the self-sacrifice, courage, and ability of some subordinate officer or officers saved the day. It may not be too much to say that no army invaded any country with greater credit, and nearly all of these subordinate officers afterwards became distinguished in the Union or Confederate service in the sectional war of 1861-'65.⁵

On the 14th of September, Mexico City surrendered; and, early in 1847, a treaty was signed, by the terms of which Mexico gave up north of the Rio Grande the territory that had been the chief cause for war. The

**Treaty of
peace;
Mexico's
cessions,
1847**

⁴ Taylor became a popular hero and was likened to Andrew Jackson. Like Andrew Jackson, he largely owed to his military successes his subsequent elevation to the Presidency.

⁵ Lieutenant George H. Thomas and Colonel Jefferson Davis, with Bragg's and Sherman's batteries, saved the day at Buena Vista. With Scott, the young officers who made final success possible, and, in many cases, snatched victory out of defeat, were U. S. Grant, R. E. Lee, T. J. Jackson, George B. McClellan, and others whose names appear again in the great War of Secession.



United States agreed to pay Mexico \$15,000,000 for her claims to the territory which included the whole of the present States of California, Nevada, and

Utah, together with much of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming.⁶

Acquisition of New Territory; Renewed Sectional Strife.—The war with Mexico and the subsequent acquisition of new territory had not been popular in the North and East for pretty much the same reasons that the admission of Louisiana and western expansion had been unpopular there (see p. 184). To political



Map showing the route of the American army under General Winfield Scott

leaders in the North it was now apparent, however, that if slavery could be shut out of the "New West,"

⁶ During the progress of the war, General Stephen W. Kearny marched 1000 miles from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and captured Santa Fé. Afterwards he joined the forces in California under Lieutenant John C. Frémont and Commodores Sloat and Stockton. The United States was, therefore, in actual possession of all this territory, and her offer to pay Mexico the amount she did pay may be considered a very liberal one. The settlers in California had raised an independent standard and had declared themselves in favor of annexation to the United States. A few years later the lower parts of the present States of New Mexico and Arizona were bought from Mexico for \$10,000,000. This has become known as the Gadsden purchase.

that vast territory would not be likely to unite politically with the South, which had promoted its purchase.

Soon after the close of the Mexican War, California sought immediate admission into the Union as a free State. In Congress, the Southern leaders were opposed to immediate action, because California would overthrow the "balance of power" and would give the Senate to the North, which section already



THE BATTLE OF CHAPULTEPEC (from painting of James Walker in the Capitol at Washington)

The fortress of Chapultepec guarded the approach to Mexico City. In 1847 it was considered almost impregnable; but the United States troops captured the fortress and its entire garrison by assault, September 12-13. George B. McClellan, Robert E. Lee, T. J. Jackson, C. V. Sumner, and a score of officers and men afterwards distinguished in the War of 1861-65 were engaged in this assault.

controlled the House of Representatives. Moreover, it was contended that the admission of California as a "free State," part of which was south of the $36^{\circ} 30'$ parallel, violated the spirit of the Missouri Compromise, which had been maintained for thirty years.

Again Henry Clay came forward and proposed a compromise, the main provisions of which were:

(1) That California should be admitted as a "free State"; (2) that the remainder of the Mexican cession should be organized into territories without an immediate decision as to the question of slavery; (3) that the Federal Government should be given further power to seize fugitive slaves; (4) that slavery should be continued in the District of Columbia; (5) and that \$10,000,000 be

Compromise
of 1850



THE ANCIENT FORTRESS OF CHAPULTEPEC (from a recent photograph)

given to Texas in payment for some of her territorial claims conflicting with those of the United States.

This compromise settled the debate in Congress, but it did not afford satisfaction to either side.

Calhoun and other Southern leaders argued that the North had gained everything and had lost nothing by its provisions. He argued that "the balance of power" had been destroyed; and that Congress, wholly under the control of the North, might pass any legislation it saw fit to

Objection to
the com-
promise

the injury and oppression of Southern interests. In short, Calhoun was using the same arguments of State rights and local self government brought forward on previous occasions by the New England Federalists.

On the Northern side, Senator William H. Seward declared, chiefly in reference to the fugitive slave provision, that there was a "higher law" than the Constitution and the will of Congress—the moral duty to protect human rights against all law. He



The United States Senate in the days of Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Hayne, and Benton

and several other Northern Senators voted to receive petitions in Congress to take steps peaceably to dissolve the Union.

The Federal Fugitive Slave Law aroused vehement protest in the North. Methods were at once devised for the encouragement of runaway negroes and for their safe conduct through the States to Canada. These secret methods became known as "the underground railroad." Legislation was passed by eleven Northern States nullifying the fugitive slave law; and leading abolitionists publicly burned the

Constitution for sanctioning such "iniquitous proceedings." The extreme abolitionists became so violent in denouncing the South that equally violent passions were aroused in the latter section; so that those in the South who argued for emancipation were confounded with the extreme abolitionists who denounced the slaveholder as necessarily an outlaw or a criminal. Instead of sympathy and coöperation between the sections in the

Nullification
of the
Fugitive
Slave Law



CHICAGO IN 1832

In the following year Congress made an appropriation for constructing a harbor at Chicago. At this time the growth of the city began, and it has never stopped.

effort to solve a great problem, voices of hatred and mutual misunderstanding confused the issues and made peaceful settlement impossible.⁷

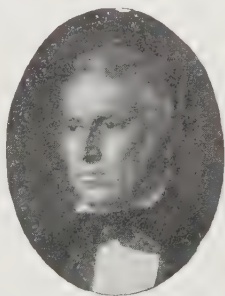
⁷ It may be noted that the first abolitionist journal was established at Jonesboro, Tennessee, by the Rev. Elihu Embree; and that the first Presidential candidate of the "free soil" party was from the South. Embree's paper preceded William Lloyd Garrison's noted *Liberator* by ten years (see, also, p. 270).

To those who love their whole country without regard to section, the bitter expressions of this period make painful reading. They were based, however, on ignorance rather than malice; and the entire fierce controversy should teach us the value of forbearance and charity.

Foreign Affairs.—Almost from the earliest times in the history of America, governments and individuals had considered the problem of cutting a ship canal through the Isthmus of Panama or through Central America. In 1850, a treaty was made with Great Britain which guaranteed the neutrality of any such canal, should it be made then or in the future.

Treaty with
Great
Britain

This treaty with Great Britain followed other treaties or agreements with regard to the boundary line between Canada and the United States. After the war of 1812, it was proposed to build forts on the border and to construct battleships on the Lakes; but these proposals were rejected, and it was thought that Canada and the United States could live in peace and good-will without arming against each other. If disputes arose, it was hoped that they would be settled by treaty or by arbitration.



ZACHARY TAYLOR

Born Orange County, Virginia, September 24, 1784; fought in many campaigns against the Indians; commander of Northern army in Mexico; elected President 1848, and died in office, July 9, 1850.

Western Expansion.—The most serious boundary dispute which had arisen was with reference to the "Oregon Country," which was claimed by both countries. President Polk had been elected on the promise of securing the Oregon Country as well as Texas (p. 231). Polk insisted on the following points in favor of the claims of the United States: (1) That, as early as 1792, Captain Robert Gray, of Massachusetts, had entered the Columbia River; (2) that Lewis

and Clark had explored and claimed that country in 1805; and (3) that a large number of citizens of the United States had emigrated to that country and had made settlements there.

The settlement of the Oregon Country had followed close upon the establishment of Methodist and Presbyterian missions in 1834 and 1836. In 1843, thousands of settlers poured into the river valleys,



A scene in western frontier life. Emigrants to the gold-fields of California might expect such an Indian attack throughout the greater part of their route. The first emigrants to these gold-fields were called "forty-niners," after the year in which they set out (1849).

and they soon set up a form of government for themselves. Two years later, Great Britain and the United States agreed to maintain joint possession; but President Polk brought this to an end in 1846, when the United States secured the Oregon Country to the 49th parallel.⁸

⁸ At first the United States claimed the country up to the parallel 54° 40', the southern boundary of Alaska. In the United States the cry was raised of "Fifty-four-forty or fight."

As the year 1843 marked the first great emigration to the Oregon Country, so 1849 saw an even greater rush to California. Prior to the war with Mexico, California was inhabited by Indians and Spaniards. The latter had organized many Jesuit and Franciscan mission stations. These missionaries had already discovered the wonderful adaptability of the soil and climate of California for the raising of fruit. In 1848 the first nugget of gold was discovered, and the following year the whole world learned that any one might go to California with a simple outfit of pick, shovel, and pan to dig out the precious metal for himself.

California
and the
discovery of
gold

Although the sufferings and privations endured in marching thousands of miles across an almost uninhabited stretch of continent were without parallel in the previous settlement of America, tens of thousands of emigrants set out for the "Golden West." In a few months San Francisco changed from a village into a city. It has been said that "California had no time to become a Territory first; she became a State as soon as she had formed a government" (see p. 238).

In 1850, the year of the admission of California, President Taylor died, and Vice-President Millard Fillmore succeeded to the Presidency. Calhoun died in that year; and in 1852 Clay and Webster also died. These three great leaders had each hoped to become President; but all had failed, although Clay was twice nominated by his party.

Death of
President
Taylor,
Calhoun,
Clay, and
Webster

In 1852 the Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire. The Whig candidate was General Winfield Scott, of Virginia, who, like President Taylor, was a military hero of the Mexican War. Scott, however, called "Old Fuss and Feathers" because of his peculiar manners, was by no means as popular with the masses as "Old Rough and Ready" Taylor had been. Pierce

Pierce
elected
President,
1852



MILLARD FILLMORE

Born Cayuga County, New York, February 7, 1800; political leader in New York from 1829; elected Vice-President, 1848; succeeded to Presidency on death of Taylor in 1850; candidate of American Party for President, 1856. Died 1874.

carried twenty-seven out of thirty-one States and was thus elected by an overwhelming majority. William R. King, of Alabama, was elected Vice-President.⁹

Incidents of International Interest Under Pierce.—During President Pierce's term the United States, through two naval officers, established (1) a principle in international law, and (2) laid the foundations of the modern power and progress of Japan.

In the harbor of Smyrna, Asia Minor, Captain N. D. Ingraham, commanding the sloop *St. Louis*, learned that Martin Koszta was held a prisoner by the Austrians in that port. Koszta had been a subject of Hungary and a rebel against Austrian rule. He had, however, escaped to America, and had taken out papers *preparatory to becoming* a citizen of the United States. Captain Ingraham, in command of one small ship against several Austrian

Martin
Koszta
incident

⁹ Pierce also had served in the Mexican War.

warships, requested that Koszta be delivered to him. When the request was curtly refused, Ingraham demanded his release within a stated time, or he would open fire. After telling Koszta that he would be hanged, the Austrians tested the determination of the Americans to the moment when Ingraham, watch in hand, cleared the deck of the *St. Louis* and prepared for action. The Austrians then yielded, and Koszta was saved.¹⁰



FRANKLIN PIERCE

Born Hillsboro, New Hampshire, November 23, 1804. Political leader in New Hampshire from 1829; elected to House of Representatives and to United State Senate; served in Mexican War; President, 1853-'57. Died 1869.

The Koszta incident took place in 1853. In the same year, Commodore M. C. Perry visited Japan and succeeded in bringing about a treaty with that country.

Up to that time Japan Treaty with Japan, 1854

had refused intimate intercourse with western nations; but soon after this treaty was made she began to welcome western methods. In a wonderfully short period of time she progressed far ahead of all other Oriental peoples, and became recognized as one of the great World Powers.

¹⁰ Ingraham was one of the youthful midshipmen in the second war against Great Britain (see p. 202). He said he knew that the Austrians were well able to "blow me out of the water," but that he would fight and die for what he believed was a right of his country. His deed was gratefully recognized in the Old World and in the New. Congress awarded him a medal; the German immigrants of Chicago gave him a silver service; and the workingmen of Great Britain raised, by penny subscriptions, the money for a handsome present.

The Struggle to Control the Kansas-Nebraska Territory.—Pierce had been elected President by a very large majority from the whole Union, and it seemed as if an era of good feeling was about to set in. In the North, William Lloyd Garrison and the more extreme abolitionists who were denouncing the South and endangering the Union had been attacked by mobs in the streets of Boston and other cities. In the South, “the fire eaters,” as they were called, were rebuked by conservative men and many of them were defeated for reelection. But, as in the time of Monroe, political quiet preceded a period of the bitterest contention.

Political and sectional strife again aroused

In 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, introduced a bill for the organization of the “Nebraska Territory,” which included the present States of Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Montana, with parts of Wyoming and Colorado. According to the plan proposed by Douglas, States were to be formed from this Territory and admitted *with or without slavery as it should be decided by the settlers themselves*. This he called the doctrine of “popular” or “squatter” sovereignty.

Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 1854

The whole of this territory was *north* of the 36° 30' boundary line of the Missouri Compromise (p. 211). Douglas argued, however, that the spirit of the Missouri Compromise had already been violated by the admission of California as a “free State,” part of which was below the extended line. He further argued that, if the settlers wanted either slavery or free labor, they should have what they wished.

The arguments of Douglas were plausible, and the "Kansas-Nebraska" bill was passed. He certainly

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ROCK SPRING FARM, KENTUCKY, WHERE ABRAHAM LINCOLN WAS BORN
From a photograph taken in September, 1895. The cabin in which Lincoln was born is seen to the right, in the background.



had some right on his side; but no measure could have aroused more bitterness and contention. Immediately there began a fierce struggle for the politi-

cal control of the territory in question. Great anti-slavery orators, amid considerable disapproval in their own sections, were successful in raising money for sending to Kansas settlers provided with arms and munitions. Springfield rifles came to be known as "Beecher's Bibles," so-called after Henry Ward Beecher, one of the great orator-ministers of that time.

Struggle for
control of
Kansas

On the other hand, the extremists in the South prepared for battle in similar spirit. Missouri was near at hand; and those interested in maintaining slavery established themselves chiefly on the north side of the Kansas River, while "free-State" people settled chiefly on the south side. Neither party was disposed to heed the result of elections. In 1856 the town of Lawrence was attacked by pro-slavery men; and, in the same year, a party of free-State men under John Brown surprised and killed some settlers on the Pottawotomie Creek.¹¹

At Topeka, as early as 1855, the "free-State" faction had drawn up a Constitution which prohibited slavery; but their opponents took no part in the proceedings. Another State Constitution was drawn up at the neighboring town of Lecompton. This Constitution favored slavery; but when it was submitted

¹¹ John Brown was a religious fanatic. He killed his victims at night, without warning. Even the bodies of the victims were mutilated after death. In doing so he was persuaded he was doing God's will. There were other murders in "bleeding Kansas" committed, first by one side and then by the other; Brown's "vengeance" has received greater prominence because of his greater brutality and because of his later attempt to arouse a servile insurrection in Virginia (p. 259).

to a vote it was rejected by the settlers. The slave State advocates were soon outnumbered, and Kansas finally voted to exclude slavery altogether. Kansas was not admitted into the Union, however, until 1861.

Sectional sentiment was further inflamed by an assault made upon Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, by Representative Preston Brooks, of South Carolina. Sumner had used extremely of-



EDGAR ALLAN POE

Born Boston, January 19, 1809. Brought up in Richmond; educated at University of Virginia; poet, and master of the short story. Died, Baltimore, October 7, 1849.

fensive language in reference to Senator Butler, who was a relative of Brooks and who was then absent in South Carolina. Brooks, after vainly seeking an apology from Sumner, approached the latter in the Senate, and, after stating the purpose of his visit, struck Sumner with a gutta-percha walking cane.

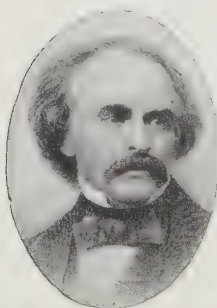
The Sumner-Brooks affair

Sumner, a very large

man, was seated at his desk. He raised his arms to ward off the blows of Brooks, but he seemed stunned or unable to resist, eventually falling to the floor. Such was the state of feeling at the time of this unfortunate episode that, although Cass, of Michigan, and other Senators expressed their indignation over Sumner's indecent expressions; and, although Brooks was censured by the House, both men were regarded in their own sections as worthy of special honors—one as the victim of a brutal assault, and the other as the avenger of a grievous insult.

Two new political parties sprang into prominence during the administration of President Pierce. One of these was the short-lived "Know-Nothing" or "American" party; and the other was the Republican party, which was destined to become a great power. The chief principle of the "American Party" was stated in the expression: "Put none but Americans on guard."

New parties
formed
during ad-
ministration
of Pierce



NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

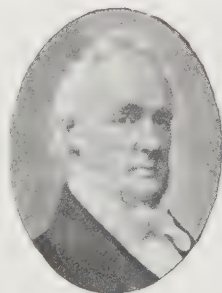
Born at Salem, Massachusetts, July 4, 1804. Educated at Bowdoin College; became the greatest of the early American novelists. Died, Plymouth, New Hampshire, May 19, 1864.

The party wished to limit the influence and activities of aliens in American politics. When, however, its members were asked about its purposes and policies, they replied: "I know nothing." For a short while the party was very successful in carrying local elections.

The Republican party may be said to have had its beginning under some oak trees at Jackson, Michigan. Here, in 1854, after the passage of Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska bill, a large number of people met and declared their opposition to any extension of slavery; and it was recommended that a convention of delegates from the free States be called. Owing to the intense feeling aroused in the South by the violent attacks of the extreme abolitionists, the new party was almost necessarily a party organized along sectional lines; but it could appeal strongly to voters in much the larger, the more prosperous, and the more populous section of

Origin of the
Republican
Party, 1854

the Union. After some local successes in 1854, the Republicans, in 1856, nominated John C. Frémont, of California, for President.¹² The Democrats nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, and argued for the Union against the spirit of sectionalism in politics. The American party nominated ex-President Millard Fillmore. Buchanan won; but Frémont, leading the young Republican party, was a close second, while Fillmore carried Maryland only.



JAMES BUCHANAN

Born Franklin County, Pennsylvania, April 23, 1791. In diplomatic service under Jackson; Secretary of State under Polk; minister to Great Britain under Pierce; President, 1857-'61. Died 1868.

Political and Sectional Issues During Buchanan's Administration.—During the term of President Buchanan, other northwestern Territories were formed into States or were preparing to become States (see Appendix for dates of admission). It was clearly seen that the South was fighting a losing battle. All political issues were involved in the question of slavery extension. In 1857, however, the United States Supreme Court decided, in the case of Dred Scott, that a slave was not legally a citizen of the United States; and that he might be held as a slave in any territory controlled by the United States. This decision was directly opposed to the principal plank of

Dred Scott
decision,
1857

¹² Frémont was born in Savannah, Georgia, January 31, 1813. He had been, prior to his nomination for the Presidency, engaged in exploring the western Territories for the United States Government.

the Republican platform. Accordingly, Republican leaders denounced the decision and openly declared against its enforcement.¹³

These opposing ideas were sharply contrasted in a series of public debates between Stephen A. Douglas, the author of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and Abraham Lincoln, a

Lincoln-Douglas
debates, 1858

“country lawyer” of Springfield, who had

seen some service in the Illinois Legislature and in the House of Representatives. In 1858, Douglas and Lincoln were respectively the Democratic and the Republican candidates for the United States Senate.



HENRY WADSWORTH
LONGFELLOW

Born Portland, Maine, February 27, 1807. Educated Bowdoin College; professor at Bowdoin and at Harvard; most popular, perhaps, of American poets. Died 1882.

Lincoln was opposed to the extension of slavery into new territory. On the other hand, he would not interfere with slavery where it already existed. He took no extreme view on either side. He disliked the methods of the Northern abolitionists in their opposition to slavery; but he was equally op-

posed to the Southern advocates of the extension of slavery into new territory. Lincoln had been born in the South; but he had been brought up in the North, and had seen the greater growth and prosperity of

¹³ Dred Scott was born a slave in Missouri. His master, a surgeon in the United States Army, took him into the Wisconsin Territory (now Minnesota). When, some years later, Scott was again taken into Missouri, lawyers brought suit for his freedom on the plea that he had been taken into free territory and that, therefore, he could resist further detention as a slave.

that section. Like many Southerners who had freely expressed themselves before sectional passions had been so greatly aroused, he earnestly hoped for some form of gradual emancipation that would take the slavery problem out of politics. Douglas won the Senatorship on his "popular sovereignty" doctrines; but Lincoln had succeeded in forcing him into opposition to the protection of slavery outside of slave territory and, therefore, to the Supreme Court decision in the case of Dred Scott—a decision favorable to the extreme Southern view of the slaveholder's rights. This position of the Democratic leader paved the way for division in the Democratic party and the subsequent election of Lincoln to the Presidency.



MARGARET FULLER

Born Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, May 23, 1810; noted for her unusual talents and associations with distinguished men and women of her time; teacher, editor, and literary critic; married, 1847, the Marquis d'Ossoli. Died 1850.

Lincoln's speeches were, as a rule, models of a simple style by which he made political issues clear to the masses of the people. Three quotations from his speeches will help us to understand three important questions of his day. The first one is taken from his debates with Douglas in regard to the extension of slavery, in the course of which he said:

Lincoln on
extension of
slavery

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union

to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States.”

The second quotation refers to the attitude of the abolitionists. We find it in Lincoln’s eulogy of Henry Clay, of whom he said, July 16, 1852: “Cast into life when slavery was already widely spread and deeply seated, he did not perceive, as I think no wise man has perceived, how it could be at once eradicated without producing a greater evil even to the cause of human liberty itself. His feeling and his judgment, therefore, ever led him to oppose both extremes of opinion on the subject. Those who would shiver into fragments the Union of these States, tear to tatters its now venerated Constitution, and even burn the last copy of the Bible, rather than slavery should continue a single hour, together with all their more halting sympathizers, have received, and are receiving, their just execration.”¹⁴

Lincoln’s
views on the
methods
of the
abolitionists

The third quotation, like the first one, is taken

¹⁴Lincoln was denounced by some of the abolitionists as much as John Brown was praised by these earnest but intemperate reformers. Wendell Phillips, one of the greatest of the abolitionist orators and preachers, called Lincoln the “Slave Hound of Illinois.” It should be clearly understood that, while the abolitionists were right in their aims, their methods were ill-advised and their ideas of slavery as it existed in the South were influenced

from the debate with Douglas, and is a statement of differences in race development as viewed by Lincoln. "I have no purpose," declared Lincoln, in opposing the extension of slavery, "to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two which, in my judgment, would probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality, and, inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position."¹⁵

Lincoln's
views on
race equality

by bias and ignorance. It should be remembered, also, that all abolitionists were not of the extreme type; but those who wanted to *coöperate* with the South in freeing the slave are more frequently called *emancipationists*, in order to distinguish them from the extreme type of abolitionist.

¹⁵To the teacher: Lincoln modified this position somewhat in 1864 and suggested that the more intelligent negroes be admitted to political privileges with the white races. In recent times this has become the attitude of the Southern States.

Although Lincoln overshadowed Douglas in these debates and in after-life, it is but fair to recognize that Douglas was a very able man and that his arguments were well presented. Here, for example, is part of his argument on behalf of his Kansas-Nebraska bill. It is worth consideration and comparison with the statements from his mightier opponent. "There is but one possible way," he said, "in which slavery can be abolished, and that is by leaving the State, according to the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, perfectly free to form and regulate its institutions in its own way. That was the principle upon which this Republic was founded. . . . Under its operations slavery disappeared from . . . six of the twelve original slaveholding States; and this gradual system of emancipation went on quietly, peacefully, and steadily so long as we in the free States minded our own business and left our neighbors alone. But the moment the abolition societies were

Many of the Northern abolitionists were so far misled by false stories of slavery in the South that they believed the negroes were ready, with some out-



HARPERS FERRY, WEST VIRGINIA

Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, the gateway to the Valley of Virginia during the War of Secession; captured and recaptured several times by Union and Confederate forces.

side assistance, to rise in revolt and put an end to slavery forever. Men of high principles, like Gerrit Smith, of New York, and Thomas Wentworth Hig-

organized throughout the North, preaching a violent crusade against slavery in the Southern States, this combination necessarily caused a counter-combination in the South, and a sectional line was drawn which was a barrier to any further emancipation. Bear in mind that emancipation has not taken place in any one State since the Free-soil Party was organized as a political party in this country. . . . The moment the North proclaimed itself the determined master of the South, that moment the South combined to resist the attack, and thus sectional parties were formed and gradual emancipation ceased in all the Northern slaveholding States."

Douglas was called by his admirers "The Little Giant." He was a small man with a big mind. Lincoln, on the other hand, had a large mind, together with a large and powerful body.

ginson, of Massachusetts, were willing to aid so fierce a fanatic as John Brown (see p. 250) in a project to invade the South and incite a slave insurrection. Consequently, Brown gathered a number of men, passed through the slave State of Maryland, and selected Harpers Ferry, on the Potomac River, as the best point from which to invade the South. After collecting sufficient rifles and pikes for arming a thousand or more slaves, he suddenly crossed the Potomac during the night of October 16, 1859. He first shot a negro who attempted to defend the property of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, seized the United States Arsenal, and captured a number of the citizens of the neighborhood, whom he held as "hostages."

John
Brown's
attempt to
incite a slave
uprising

Brown and his band, however, could make no further progress. The negroes, although they had been secretly informed of Brown's purposes, refused to rise in revolt; and, on the following day, "Brown's Fort" was surrounded by citizens of Virginia and by a detachment of United States Marines under Colonel Robert E. Lee. Brown defended his position with desperate courage; but he and his surviving companions were captured, after they had killed a number of citizens. After trial and conviction on the charge of conspiracy and murder, Brown was hanged at Charles Town, Virginia (West Virginia), December 2, 1859.¹⁶

¹⁶ Although Abraham Lincoln and other leaders of the Republican party denounced John Brown and compared his invasion of Virginia to assassination and murder, the news of his death was marked by the tolling of church bells in the North; while he was extravagantly praised by such noted men as Emerson, Beecher, and Phillips.

Indignation against slavery, together with denunciation of slaveholders, had greatly increased since the publication, in 1852, of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a novel by Harriet Beecher Stowe. This book became very popular; and, although it was written with a good purpose, it pictured the worst possible side of slavery in the South and created false impressions of the character of the Southern people. On the other hand, the people of the South, especially those of the "Lower South," were aroused to such bitter resentment that they began to denounce the North; and some of them expressed a desire to resent further alleged insult with violence.

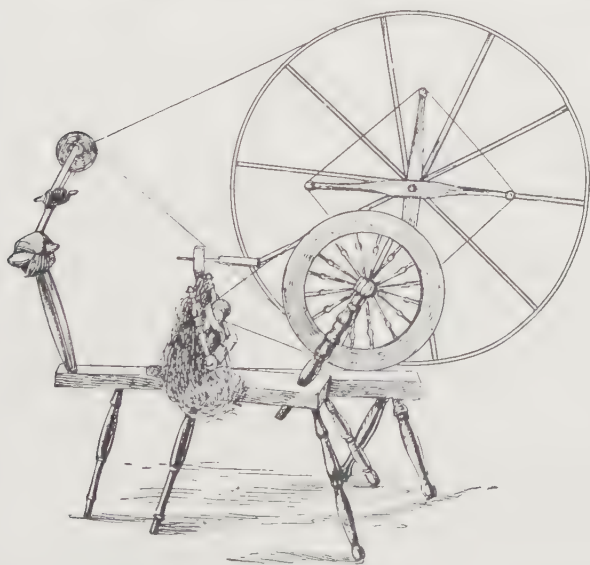
Violent
feeling
aroused in
the South

Such was the unhappy condition of the country when the Presidential campaign of 1860 began. In May, 1860, the Republicans met in Chicago and nominated Abraham Lincoln for President, although William H. Seward, of New York, had been, up to that time, the leading candidate. Hannibal Hamlin was nominated for Vice-President.

Presidential
campaign of
1860

In April the Democrats had met in Charleston, South Carolina. The Convention split, however, into two divisions. One of these declared for Douglas and his doctrine of "popular sovereignty," although Douglas did not offer protection to slavery in any Territory *before its continuance under a State government should be decided*. The other faction declared that they supported the decision of the Supreme Court and stood for protection to the slave-

holder in the Territories until the Territories were ready to frame constitutions—for or against slavery. The Convention was obliged to adjourn without having made any nominations. It met later in Baltimore and the latter faction withdrew from the convention hall. Those who remained nominated Stephen A.



Reproduced by courtesy of the owner, Arthur Barneveld Bibbins

A wool wheel (the larger one) and a flax spinning wheel. The flax wheel came from Holland early in the seventeenth century. Both wheels were taken to Michigan, in the great Northwest territory. They were carried from Buffalo to Toledo by boat and then by ox-team ninety miles into the undeveloped country. They made the "home-spun" material for several generations of Americans of former days.

Douglas, of Illinois, and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia. Those who withdrew nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and Joseph H. Lane, of Oregon.

At this time the Constitutional Union Party was formed. This party nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts. Their platform declared simply for "The Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws."

In the election that followed, Lincoln and Hamlin received a majority of the electoral votes and a plurality in the popular vote. In the former, the figures stood: 180 for Lincoln and Hamlin; 72 for Breckinridge and Lane; 39 for Bell and Everett;



The "Best Friend," the first locomotive built for the Charleston-Hamburg Railroad, in South Carolina. This engine had a brief existence. A negro who was left to guard it on one occasion became alarmed at the noise of the escaping steam. He finally tried to shut off the steam by sitting on the safety-valve, whereupon the engine was blown up and the negro with it. Some of the early trains were fitted up with sails. They were advertised to arrive and leave before noon or in the afternoon, no one could say exactly when.

and 12 for Douglas and Johnson. The popular vote stood, in round numbers: Lincoln, 1,800,000; Douglas 1,300,000; Breckinridge, 800,000; Bell, 600,000.

Progress in Industry and Invention from 1836 to 1860.—The invention of several great labor-saving machines has been reviewed in previous chapters, such as the steamboat, the cotton-gin, the reaper, the chilled plow. In the fourth decade of the nineteenth century the threshing machine began to replace the

flail for separating the grain of the wheat from the straw. About this time drills for sowing wheat replaced the old method of scattering seed grain by hand. Before this period of inventions people had to live "close to the land," because each farmer could produce but little more than enough for his own use. After the first quarter of the nineteenth century, however, cities and towns began to grow rapidly. In the North cotton and woollen mills sprang up everywhere, but especially where water-power was convenient. By 1840 the iron industry in Pennsylvania showed marked increases; and by 1860 the manufactured products of the United States had almost reached the total value of agricultural produce.

Influence of
inventions
and industry



CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

Born Annapolis, Maryland, September 20, 1737; studied law in Paris and London; elected to Continental Congress, 1775; signed Declaration of Independence and survived all other signers of that document. Died 1832.

Although the Southern States were far behind their Northern sisters in manufacturing development, they excelled, for a time, in railroad building. The first railroad prepared for steam locomotives was the Baltimore and Ohio, which was chartered in 1827. On July 4, 1828, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, broke the first earth for the construction of the road. Although he was then ninety years old, he realized the importance of his

part in developing the new idea. He said: "I consider this among the most important acts of my life—second only to that of signing the Declaration of Independence, if second even to that." In 1833, the Charleston (South Carolina) and Hamburg Railroad was the longest in the world.¹⁷ Soon, however, the better developed and more populous North was building more numerous and better equipped lines from all the rapidly growing industrial centres.

One of the most important inventions of this period was the Hoe rotary printing press, which

The Hoe press and the daily newspapers was greatly improved in 1846. It was invented by Richard M. and Peter S.

Hoe. This wonderful machine made possible the expansion of the daily newspaper. The cheap "penny" newspaper had made its regular appearance as early as 1833. Press associations for providing a common news service to a number of newspapers were formed in 1850.

The invention of the telegraph by S. F. B. Morse, in 1837, was put into practical use in 1844, when a



MATTHEW FONTAINE
MAURY

Born Spottsylvania County, Virginia, January 14, 1806. Entered United States Navy, 1825; superintendent Naval Observatory, 1844-'61; earned title of "Pathfinder of the Seas" through discoveries of routes based on relations of trade winds and ocean currents; also called the "Humboldt of the New World;" originator of the plans for the United States Weather Bureau; inventor of torpedo-submarine defense for Southern Confederacy; refused Presidency of Academy of Sciences at Paris to help rebuild the South during Reconstruction. Died 1873.

¹⁷ Rails were at first laid on wooden "stringers" parallel to the tracks.

message was sent over a line which had been constructed between Baltimore and Washington. In 1857 the first Atlantic cable connecting America with Europe was laid. This achievement was made possible by the genius of Matthew Fontaine Maury and John M. Brooke, while Cyrus W. Field pushed the work to completion.¹⁸



LAYING THE ATLANTIC CABLE

This work, planned by Matthew Fontaine Maury, aided by the deep-sea sounding inventions of John M. Brooke, was carried to completion by the energy and determination of Cyrus W. Field.

In 1842, Dr. Crawford W. Long, of Georgia, first began to use anæsthetics in the practice of surgery. Dr. Long reported his discovery to the Georgia State Medical Society; but the medical profession did not make general use of this

¹⁸ Brooke invented a deep-sea sounding apparatus, which enabled engineers to learn more about the nature of the sea bottom and where it would be best to run the cable.

discovery until W. F. G. Morton, a dentist of Boston, gave wide publicity to his own experiments in this line, which he began in 1846.

Education.—Public school systems were begun in all the older States very soon after the formation of the Union. In Virginia, Thomas Jefferson planned and presented a complete system of public education as early as 1779. Benjamin Franklin was also deeply interested in public education. Public support of these systems was, however, weak and halting for a long time. In 1837, New England was first fully awakened to the importance of public education by Horace Mann. This teacher and lecturer was born in Massachusetts in 1796, and died in Ohio in 1859.

As we have seen (p. 180), plans for the higher education of women first appeared in the youngest of the original thirteen States. In the new Western States, systems of public education were planned from the beginning of settlement. Here, again, we find the active mind and hand of Thomas Jefferson. The Ordinance of 1787 (p. 168) provided for the encouragement of education. Furthermore, when a new State was admitted, a section in every township, or one square mile in every thirty-six, was set aside for the support of the public schools. Later, another section was added, and the sale of land from these sections amounted to large sums of money. In total extent, the land thus set aside for sale was equivalent to the combined area of several States. Additional provision was likewise made for State universities.

Literature.—In the previous pages there have been references to early American literary production. For instance, we found descriptive narrative that was at least composed on North American soil as early as the sixteenth century (p. 33). George Sandys wrote poetical translations at Jamestown, and John Smith may have prepared parts of his early narrative there. Bradford was preparing his interesting history of the Plymouth colony from the time of its settlement in 1620. In the seventeenth century sermons and political writings were published in great numbers, especially in the New England colonies; but these compositions are not classed as literature. After the first quarter of the nineteenth century, however, several writers came into view with whose works we are all more or less acquainted. Indian customs and the pioneer life of the settler were put into story form by J. Fenimore Cooper and William Gilmore Simms. Nathaniel Hawthorne, the greatest of our early novelists, first attracted especial attention in 1837. Poetry was represented by William Cullen Bryant, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Edgar Allan Poe, James Russell Lowell, and John Greenleaf Whittier. Besides these may be mentioned such poets and essayists as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Oliver Wendell Holmes. Many of our early State historians did their work in this period; and historians such as Prescott, Bancroft, and Motley began, or, as in the case of Prescott, completed their writings in the period under discussion. In 1828, Noah Webster published the first edition of his "American Dictionary of the English Language."

J. E. Worcester had issued his "Geographical Dictionary" in 1817; and at the close of this period, 1860, he brought out the first illustrated dictionary of the English language. There were many other writers actively at work during this period, some of whom, especially those of local interest, the student may profitably add to the partial list here given.

POINTS OF INTEREST; SUGGESTIONS FOR READING OR DISCUSSION

Abraham Lincoln, together with a number of men and women in the North and in the South, was greatly interested in the colonization of freed negroes in Africa. It was believed that the trans-ported negro, who had attained a position far in advance of his African brother, would help to civilize the so-called "Dark Continent." For many years prior to the War of Secession, earnest men and women were engaged in forwarding this plan of colonization. Money was raised; Liberia, on the west coast of Africa, was secured for colonization; and hundreds of the owners of slaves prepared to free their dependents.¹⁹

However, many difficulties arose. Extremists in either section objected to the plan, and politicians played upon these objections. In many cases the negroes themselves refused to be emancipated and begged to be allowed to remain as they were. Nevertheless, in 1820, Liberia was opened to settlement; and, in 1847, it was recognized as an independent Republic, with a form of government which was modelled after that of the United States. It was provided that no white man should be permitted either to vote or to hold property. The land and government was to be wholly in the hands of the negro race.

¹⁹ On one occasion, President Lincoln undertook to send a shipload of freed negroes to an island in the West Indies; but he soon had to send for them, as they seemed unable to take care of themselves. He tried in vain to get the British, Danish, and French West Indies and the South American countries to take the freed negroes as settlers or immigrants.

Letters from the newly freed negroes in Liberia to their former owners have been preserved. Here are portions of a letter from one of them telling about his efforts at farming and of his home life:

“EDINA, GRAND BASSA COUNTY,
REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA,

May the 5th, 1849.

“DEAR SIR:—

“As an opportunity favorable to writing to you presents itself, I embrace it in addressing you with a few lines. As it regards the health of my family and myself—I have not much cause to complain, we are as far as can be reasonably expected, getting on very well—as it regards our occupation in life it is as follows— I keep my blacksmiths tools in occupation so far as I have a run of work—at the same time—I endeavor to keep up a small farm, as it regards the farming part of my occupation, I might perhaps carry it on more extensively had I capital to carry it into effect. . . .

. . . . “And provided I do not try your patience I would be glad if you could send me a few yards of Alipacca for ladies dresses - and as I am now commencing a new building -you will please to send me a half keg of 10d nails and half keg of 4d nails, and I will endeavor to make some returns. . . .

. . . . “My family are all in a thriving state, my wife whom I married in this country enjoys her health—we have five children - one of them a fine boy—three of them attend school regularly, two of them can read passages in the Bible. . . . Now in closing Receive my best respects together with those of my family - the children all join me in love to their Grandmother—whom they have never seen—give our love and respects to your family and all enquiring friends.”

Other emancipated negroes were colonized in some of the Northern States and in Canada; but these colonies never thrived. The whites would dispossess them of all their property, and the condition of the negroes frequently became pitiable in the extreme. The abolitionists did little for these freed negroes, since they devoted themselves to the task of “making slavery odious.” A large part of their purpose, frankly stated, was to denounce the slaveholders. William Lloyd

Negro
colonies in
America

Garrison, the most noted leader of the abolitionists, wrote in his newspaper, *The Liberator*: "I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. I do not wish to think, or speak, or write with moderation. I am in earnest. I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard."

The following story illustrates the generally contented condition of the negro slaves and their devotion to the families to which they "belonged." During the Revolution, Governor Heard, of Georgia, was captured by the British; but he was later rescued from prison by the daring of "Mammy" Kate, a faithful servant in the Heard family. Governor Heard desired to reward "Mammy" Kate by setting her free. This devoted servant, however, not only refused to accept her freedom, but drew up a will by the terms of which she gave each one of her children to the several children of the Governor to be their slaves forever. There is little doubt that if the abolitionists of the North had known of the good feeling which existed between the whites and the blacks of the South they would have worked hand in hand with the emancipationists of the latter section. The question of slavery would have been kept out of political strife, and there would have been little or none of that terrible bitterness of misunderstanding in which good people on one side denounced equally good people on the other as either actual criminals or as would-be murderers.

Occasionally the records of history do not seem to be very fair, chiefly because of what is omitted. Everybody knows, for instance, that 300 Spartans fought to the last at Thermopylae; but few realize that twice as many Thespians also volunteered to stay and die with these Spartans. Our own history appears to have neglected Matthew Fontaine Maury, the greatest of our scientists. When we think of the Atlantic Cable, we think of the achievement and abilities of the noted merchant, Cyrus W. Field. Field himself said of that accomplishment: "Maury furnished the brains; I did the work."

Matthew Fontaine Maury was the first scientist of the world to map out regular ocean routes for ocean-going vessels; he was the first to study and understand the regular course of ocean cur-

**Relations
between
master and
slave**

**Matthew
Fontaine
Maury, the
Pathfinder of
the Seas**

rents and of trade winds. He was rightly called the "Pathfinder of the Seas," and his discoveries saved to commerce countless millions of dollars every year. No other man had ever done so much for the trade of all the world. He was awarded special honors by the grateful governments and peoples of France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Austria, Belgium, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and smaller nations.

Nor did his field of service end here. He studied land winds and storms as he did sea winds and currents. From these studies he worked out plans for the United States Weather Bureau, although the idea may have been suggested to Maury by the studies of those earlier American scientists, Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin.²⁰ Afterwards, in the Confederate service, Maury made the first successful experiments in submarine torpedo warfare. After the war, he refused to accept the splendid offer of the Presidency of the French Academy of Sciences in order to help rebuild a war-impooverished school in his native State. His achievements were of greater value to mankind than were the brilliant victories of his fellow-Tennessean, Andrew Jackson. Both had been poor boys and both had to struggle against great odds in getting a start in life.²¹

The spirit of democracy which so distinguished the West and which triumphed under Jackson and Harrison caused great political unrest in the East. Most of the Eastern States yielded to the demand for the extension of suffrage to men, regardless of position in life or the holding of property. In Rhode Island, however, an insurrection broke out. This was led by Thomas W. Dorr and is known as "Dorr's Rebellion." United States troops were called upon and the "rebellion" was put down without serious difficulty. Subsequently, reforms were begun and the suffrage was extended. New York was threatened with similar trouble, due to the survival of some of the features of the old colonial patroonships (p. 54).

The rise of
democracy in
the East

²⁰ Both Franklin and Jefferson had tried to follow and study the course of storms by the slow method of correspondence by stage coach.

²¹ Neither Andrew Jackson nor Maury was born in Tennessee; but both began active life in that State. See sketches, pp. 218, 264.

Reference list of Presidents from 1789 to 1861:²²

George Washington.....	1789-1797
John Adams.....	1797-1801
Thomas Jefferson.....	1801-1809
James Madison.....	1809-1817
James Monroe.....	1817-1825
John Quincy Adams.....	1825-1829
Andrew Jackson.....	1829-1837
Martin Van Buren.....	1837-1841
William Henry Harrison.....	} 1841-1845
John Tyler.....	
James Knox Polk.....	1845-1849
Zachary Taylor.....	} 1849-1853
Millard Fillmore.....	
Franklin Pierce.....	1853-1857
James Buchanan.....	1857-1861

²² It is perhaps easier for the pupil to recall Presidential succession by *the date of election*, because Presidential elections occur in the years divisible by four.

CHAPTER XII

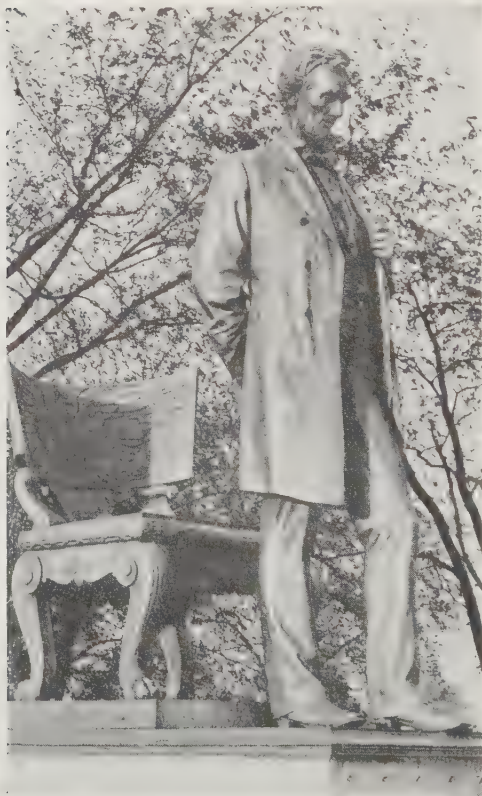
FROM 1861 TO 1876—PERIOD OF DIVISION AND REUNION

Secession of the Lower South; Period of Doubt and Uncertainty, December 20, 1860, to April 12, 1861.—In 1856, when Frémont had been the candidate of the Republicans for President, a strong antagonism had developed, especially in the "Lower South," to "a party which had no following in the Southern States." Threats were then made that, in the event of Republican victory, the Southern States would withdraw from the Union. This threat was renewed in 1860; and, when it became known that Lincoln was elected, South Carolina led the way in passing an ordinance of secession. This ordinance was passed by a State convention, December 20, 1860. It was followed by similar action on the part of six other "Cotton States" by February 1, 1861. These States were Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas.

Some of the secessionists spoke of possible interference by the Federal Government and talked of war. These, moreover, believed that since the South furnished by far the greater part of the world's supply of cotton, the sudden shutting off of that supply would bring the nations to terms and force them to recognize the independence of the South.

Views of the
people in the
seceding
States

Others who favored secession used language



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Born Hardin County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809. Almost wholly self-educated; studied law and entered public life in Illinois; member of legislature, 1834-'42; elected to House of Representatives, 1846; opposed extension of slavery and also methods of the abolitionists; elected President, 1860; opposed secession and waged war for preservation of Union; after the war, opposed reconstruction plans of radical Republicans; re-elected President, 1864; shot by assassin April 14, and died April 15, 1865. Statue by St. Gaudens, erected in Chicago.

which sounded like echoes of the words used by Josiah Quincy (p. 199) and New England anti-expansionist leaders from the time of the acquisition of Louisiana to that of the annexation of Texas.

Their cry was for peaceable separation if possible, but separation by force if necessary. The majority of those who favored secession were of this class.

In some of these States there were strong minorities opposed to secession. Their most noted leader was Alexander H. Stephens. Stephens contended that the advantages of the Union were very great, and that the South might hope for redress of its grievances within it; that separation was ill-advised; and that steps should be taken to compromise matters with the party about to go into power in the following March. It is worth noting that Stephens, afterwards Vice-President of the Confederate States, was acquainted with Abraham Lincoln and that he was in correspondence with Lincoln at this time, or up to the time that Georgia decided in favor of secession.

The majority of the people of the "Upper South" did not favor secession, and they expressed their views very clearly at the polls. These States included North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ar-
Views of the people of the "Upper South"
kansas. Nevertheless, although the people were, for the most part, opposed to secession and still hoped to effect a compromise of some kind to restore the Union, they were firmly opposed to coercion or war in the effort to regain the seceding States.

For some months, opinion in the North, as in the South, was divided. There had been the
Views in the North
same jealous guarding of State sovereignty in one section as in another. As late as 1845, the Massachusetts Legislature had avowed the right of secession in opposing the annexation of Texas; and

that State and others were then openly defying the Federal fugitive slave laws.¹

In the North there were three distinct views as to the secession of the seven "Cotton States" of the South. A very strong party was opposed to any attempt to force the seceding States back into the Union. They contended that the right to withdraw from the Union had been understood, and, in some cases, declared by the States from the beginning. The Union, they said, had been formed for mutual protection and in mutual good-will; and a Union held together by force of arms would be a weak one and contrary to the American spirit respecting the rights and privileges of local self-government.

The second view, which was upheld by President Buchanan until his term of office expired, seemed to contradict itself. Buchanan denied the right of secession, but declared that the Federal Government had no right to coerce the States into returning to the Union.

The third view was best expressed by Abraham Lincoln; and, as events turned out, this view was to shape the destinies of the country and, finally, to make the Federal Government supreme. Lincoln's

¹ Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, had sounded a new note in defence of an "indissoluble Union." On the other hand, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, had prepared to use force against South Carolina in the case of nullification in that State (p. 221). At a later date, however, Webster warned his countrymen that if Federal laws guaranteeing certain rights to the Southern slaveholders were further defied, the South "would no longer be bound to keep the compact. A bargain," he said, "broken on one side, is broken on all sides."

doctrine might be summed up in the toast once responded to by President Jackson: "The Union: it must be preserved."²

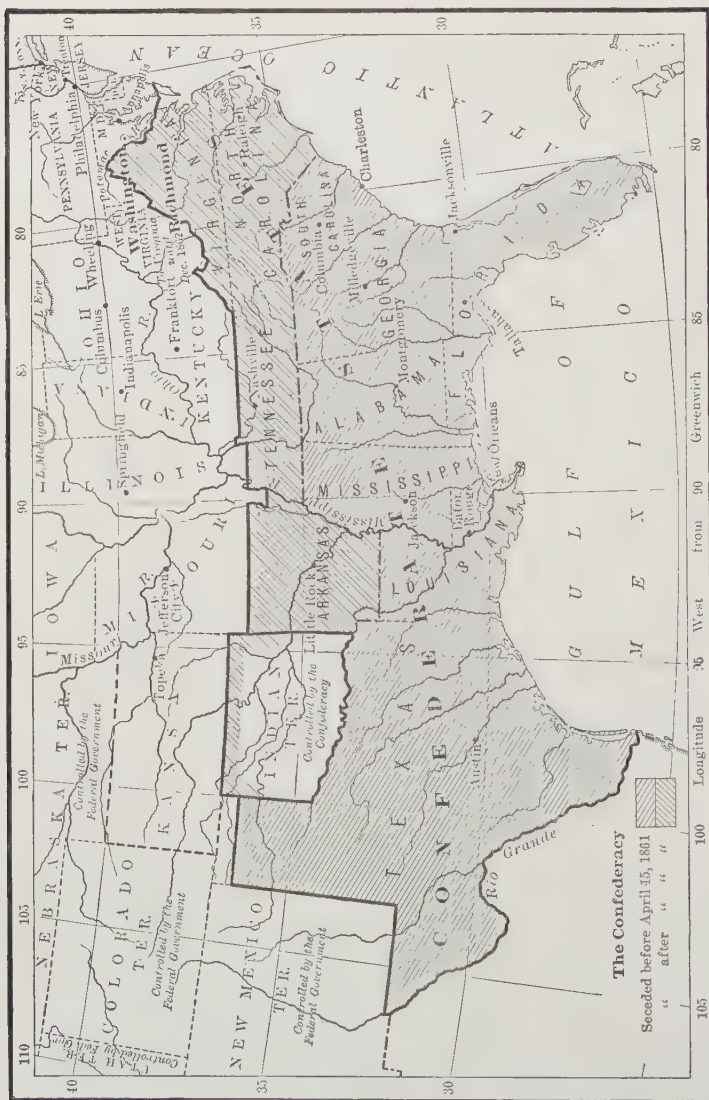
Nowhere more than in the central States was the breaking up of the Union lamented. When the first Union, or the Confederation of Revolutionary times, was falling to pieces, Virginia had proposed the convention which resulted in the framing of the Federal Constitution. She now proposed a second great convention. Twenty-one States sent representatives, but Congress did not accept any of the recommendations proposed and the convention failed to accomplish anything.

Efforts at
compromise

It must not be thought from this that the Republican party, as a whole, was opposed to peace measures. In an effort to remove what was supposed to be the main grievance of the Southern secessionist, Congress passed, by a two-thirds vote, a proposed amendment to the Constitution which would forever forbid any Federal interference with slavery.

The issue, however, had passed beyond any question of slavery. From the point of view of the people

²To the teacher: It must be remembered, also, that Lincoln had to contend with a considerable body of extreme abolitionists who had previously advocated disunion. These abolitionists did not want any further association with the Southern slaveholders. Horace Greeley, editor of the powerful *New York Tribune*, declared that the Southern States were "erring sisters" who should be permitted to "depart in peace." A number of the leading orators, ministers, and writers welcomed or advocated disunion. Among these were James Russell Lowell, Theodore Parker, and Henry Ward Beecher. For a while, many of these men attacked Lincoln with extreme violence and added very greatly to the difficulties of his position.



of the lower South, it had become one of self-government or of State sovereignty, and then of independence. It was believed, also, that too many people in either section disliked and abused the people of the other section; and that their social and economic differences were too great for them all to live peacefully together "under one roof."



JEFFERSON DAVIS

Born Christian County, Kentucky, June 3, 1808. Graduate West Point, 1828; served in Mexican War under Taylor; as secretary of war under President Pierce, reorganized and enlarged the army, United States Senator from Mississippi at time of secession; resigned and was elected President Southern Confederacy; imprisoned after the war, but was not brought to trial. Died 1889.

A central government for the seceding States had already been created at Montgomery, Alabama. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was elected President, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President, of the "Confederate States of North America." The Constitution of

A Southern Confederacy formed at Montgomery, February, 1861

the new government was like that of the United States, except that tariff taxation and governmental bounties were forbidden, and the sovereignty of the States was expressly set forth. There were other minor changes; for example, the President was to be elected for a term of six years, and provision was made for the regular appearance on the floor of Congress of Cabinet officers.³

³ Both the one-term Presidency and the admission to Congress of Cabinet officers have been strongly advocated for the Federal Government—the former chiefly by Democratic leaders, and the latter by some noted Republicans.

Although efforts were at once made to induce the States of the upper South to join the Southern Confederacy in order to make the new union stronger, these efforts met with no success. On the surface, peace existed between the Confederacy at Montgomery and the Federal Government at Washington. Vessels plying between Northern and Southern ports flew the Stars and Stripes from one end and the Confederate flag from the other. Commissioners were appointed by the Confederate Government to make a treaty with the Federal Government to promote trade relations and to secure possession of Federal forts and arsenals within the limits of the seceding States.

The Confederate Government had been in existence at Montgomery but a few weeks when Abraham Lincoln, in his inaugural address, declared, as had Jackson in 1832 (p. 221), his intention to enforce in all the States the laws of the United States. Lincoln referred especially to the collection of duties in the Southern ports. He declared that the right of secession did not exist, and that the Federal Government could properly use force to compel a State to remain in the Union. The Union, he said, was older than the Constitution and the States.

These expressions meant war, if the Southern States persisted in secession and in holding or attempting to gain possession of Federal forts within their borders. Evidently, however, Lincoln's own party and the members of his Cabinet were not unitedly behind him; and many Southern leaders

President
Lincoln
announces
intention to
enforce
Federal laws
in the
seceding
States

continued to believe that they would be able to establish an independent government without an appeal to arms. This belief was encouraged by semi-official promises from Washington that the Federal forts would be surrendered. Under Buchanan, the steamer *Star of the West* had been fired upon when it attempted to carry supplies to Fort Sumter, in Charleston

Division of
counsel and
confusion
resulting
therefrom



President Lincoln and his Cabinet officers. Secretary of State William H. Seward is seated at the table on the right; Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton is seated at the left.

harbor.⁴ Promises had then been made, which were renewed as late as April 8, that the forts would be given up. On that date, William H. Seward, Secretary of State, wrote to Justice Campbell, of the United States Supreme Court: “Faith as to Sumter

⁴ This occurred January 9, 1861, and is sometimes referred to as the “first shot” of the war. No one was killed or wounded and the vessel withdrew.

fully kept—wait and see.” On the same day, however, a message from the President was sent to Charleston informing Governor Pickens that the Federal Government was sending supplies to Fort Sumter.

The Confederate authorities declared that this was an act of war. Major Robert Anderson, in command of Fort Sumter, was called upon to surrender. He refused, and, on the 12th of April, when the Federal fleet had arrived off the coast of South Carolina, General P. G. T. Beauregard, the Confederate commander, opened fire on the fort. The Federal fleet took no part in the combat; and Anderson, after a spirited but hopeless defence, surrendered his small command of less than 100 men without loss of life.

Firing on
Fort Sumter,
April 12, 1861

The news of the fall of Fort Sumter was flashed throughout the country, and served to arouse the fighting spirit of the North. President Lincoln immediately called for 75,000 volunteers, “to suppress combinations against the laws of the United States.”

President
Lincoln's
call for
volunteers

Secession in the Upper South; War Begins; Campaigns of 1861.—The upper South had refused to unite with the lower South in secession; but, as before stated, the great majority of the people were intensely opposed to a war of coercion. Virginia refused to contribute her quota of men in response to the President's call for troops, and passed an ordinance of secession on April 17. Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee fol-

Opposition
to war in the
Upper South;
four more
States
secede

lowed in succession the precedent set by Virginia. Kentucky endeavored to maintain a neutral attitude, but failed, and her citizens were divided in sentiment and action. The eastern half of Maryland was strongly inclined to unite with the South. Measures were, however, soon taken by the Federal Government to suppress Southern sentiment and to arrest sympathizers with the Confederacy, including the Mayor of Baltimore and several members of the Maryland Legislature. Thousands of men went South and joined the Confederate forces. In Missouri there was a short struggle for the control of that State, in which the Union forces were finally triumphant. In some of the Northern States, as in Indiana, the State government undertook to suppress Southern sympathies on the one hand, or anti-war demonstrations on the other.

The first blood was shed in Baltimore on April 19, 1861. This occurred during the march of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment through the streets of that city from one railroad station to another. Missiles were thrown at the soldiers. Shots were fired either by accident or by command, and twelve citizens and four soldiers were killed. Further loss of life was prevented only by the timely arrival of the Mayor and the city police force.⁵

First blood-
shed in
Baltimore,
April 19, 1861

Soon after Virginia seceded, the Confederate capital was removed from Montgomery to Richmond.

⁵ The city of Baltimore, like the State of Kentucky, endeavored, for a while, to remain neutral. No one seemed to know what course the Federal Government would pursue.

Neither government was prepared for war; and, in those days, such was the ignorance of the people of one section with regard to those of the other that volunteers lightly enlisted as if for a "holiday campaign" to put to immediate rout a far inferior foe. Neither people knew the determination, courage, and character of the other. Only the army officers who had fought side by side in Mexico realized to any extent the kind of struggle that was about to begin.

Further
preparations
for conflict

The officers of the United States army and navy had a hard choice to make. Those in the North were called upon to fight against their former classmates and comrades in the Mexican War and in the Indian campaigns. Those from the South had to choose between the Federal service on the one hand, and all the ties of home and kindred on the other. Most of these officers, like Robert E. Lee and Albert Sydney Johnston, resigned from the Federal service and went with their respective States. On the other hand, many able officers, like George H. Thomas, of Virginia, and David G. Farragut, of Tennessee, remained in the Federal service.⁶

⁶ Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, an officer in the Federal army, a great-grandson of one President and a grandson of another, has presented this difficulty of choice more clearly, perhaps, than any other writer.

Thousands of men from the mountainous districts of the South enlisted in the Union armies. The South regarded these Unionists very much as the colonies had regarded the Tories in the Revolution; but these differences in the War of Secession did not result in the fierce partisan warfare of that earlier day.

At the time of the outbreak of the War of Secession,⁷ the 23 States remaining in the Federal Union had a population of 21,000,000. In the 11 States of the Confederacy there were approximately 6,000,000 whites and 4,000,000 negroes. After the war began, the little immigration that had previously gone into the South ceased altogether. In the North it continued as before. The great Northwest was then developing more rapidly than ever; and that section furnished, in large measure, the food supplies of the Federal forces. On the other hand, the Eastern States furnished, for the most part, arms, munitions, and other supplies. The United States had a well-established government and unlimited resources to draw upon for both army and navy forces; and it was the latter which decided the issue of the war by cutting off the South from outside supplies.

Resources of
the opposing
sections

The Southern States, on the other hand, were

⁷ To the teacher: The term here used to designate the sectional conflict in this country was preferred by Charles Francis Adams, who did much towards freeing from sectional bias and prejudice the interpretation of United States history. With regard to the matter of nomenclature, he wrote: . . . "The only proper designation of the war, as I contend, is, therefore, the 'War of Secession.' The issue having been raised over the constitutional right of secession that issue was fought out and decided. The whole struggle was between certain States claiming the constitutional right of secession and the United States as a nationality insisting that no such right existed. This issue was fairly presented, thoroughly fought out, and finally decided. There can, therefore, in my judgment, be no sort of question that the conflict can only be properly and distinctively designated as the 'War of Secession.'"

almost wholly agricultural, and a very large proportion of that agriculture consisted in the raising of cotton. Largely for this reason, it turned out that the Confederate armies could not be fed sufficiently while in the field. So that "King Cotton," upon which the Lower South based its main hope for securing aid from abroad, proved, on the contrary, a great weakness, when the superior Federal navy compelled



A battery directed against Fort Sumter, which held out against the Federal forces from the beginning of the War of Secession to the close, when Charleston was evacuated by the Confederate forces. Between August 12, 1863, and January 1, 1864, 26,867 cannon-shot were fired at the fort, about 20,000 of which struck against or within its enclosure.

the South to turn to itself for its own support. In the South there was, at the beginning of the war, scarcely a manufactory of any sort from its northern borders to the Gulf of Mexico.⁸

⁸ At the beginning of the war, the Northern States suffered from the loss of a profitable trade with the South. Southern cotton had been bought at comparatively low rates, and the manufactured products had been sent back to the South at as high prices as the tariff of the day permitted without underselling by foreign

The first aggressive movements of Federal armies in the East were carried out in western Virginia by General George B. McClellan. These movements were successful and led to the permanent holding of much of that part of the State, which was inclined to be Northern in sympathy. Later, steps were taken to divide Virginia, and the new State of West Virginia was formed and admitted into the Union during the progress of the war.⁹

Federal
success in
western
Virginia;
creation of
West
Virginia,
1861-'63

Minor engagements in the eastern section of the State resulted in the defeat of the Federal forces. Although war had been declared in April, the main Federal army of the East was not believed to be prepared for battle until July. By the middle of that month, General Irvin McDowell, with 30,000 men, pushed into Virginia in answer to the popular cry of "On to Richmond!"

The battle of
Bull Run, or
Manassas,
July 21, 1861

Opposing McDowell was a Confederate force of 20,000 men under General Beauregard. They were posted at Bull Run, near Manassas, on the railway route to Richmond. Across the Blue Ridge Moun-

competition. This loss was soon offset, however, by an increasing manufacture of war supplies. In the North, therefore, industrial prosperity followed in a manner not unlike that in which the whole country profited when the great war broke out in Europe in 1914.

⁹ Delegates representing those who opposed the secession of Virginia met at Wheeling in June, 1861. These delegates declared that they represented the State of Virginia; and that they were, therefore, entitled to create a new State. Their action was approved by Congress and by a proclamation of President Lincoln, April 20, 1863.

tains there was an additional Confederate force of 9000 men under General Joseph E. Johnston. This force was to be kept engaged by an army of 20,000 men under General Robert Patterson, whose duty it was to prevent Johnston from uniting with Beauregard.

When, however, McDowell attacked Beauregard on July 21, Johnston, with 6000 men, had succeeded in eluding Patterson. This included the command of T. J. Jackson. McDowell attacked vigorously, and at first all went well for the Union army; but, just as the Confederates seemed doomed to defeat, Jackson advanced in a bayonet charge and the remainder of Johnston's army arrived from the Valley of Virginia. This Union repulse was soon followed by a general retreat; and the retreat, in turn, became a panic, especially on the part of the militia. The total losses were: Union, 2896 killed, wounded, and missing; Confederate, 1982.¹⁰

The result of the battle of Bull Run, or Manassas, as it was called by the Confederates, did not discourage the Federal Administration; it rather increased its determination to win; and President Lincoln promptly issued a call for 500,000 additional

¹⁰ To the teacher: The forces engaged and the total losses sustained in the first noted battle of the War of Secession and those in subsequent engagements seem very small in comparison with the numbers involved in the European "War of the Nations"; there was no trench warfare in these early engagements, and the arms and other engines of war were not nearly so destructive and specialized. Nevertheless, these facts do not detract from the courage of the men engaged, the importance of the struggle, and the skill of the combatants in the use of the material at hand.

volunteers. On the other hand, the victory created overconfidence in the Confederacy, and was followed by a period of inaction injurious to the discipline of troops. While Southern military leaders who had seen service in Mexico urged the importance of a



movement on Washington, the Confederate officials were not inclined to make any attempt at invasion of Federal territory.

The Southern Confederacy now asked for recognition by foreign powers as a regularly organized and acting government. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1861, James M. Mason

Trouble with Great Britain averted; Mason and Slidell incident

and John Slidell were appointed commissioners to Great Britain and France, respectively.

The Confederate commissioners ran the Federal blockade. From Cuba, they took passage on the British mail steamer *Trent*. On November 8, 1861, this vessel was stopped by Captain Wilkes, of the United States ship *San Jacinto*, and the Confederate commissioners were seized and taken to Boston as prisoners. Great Britain demanded an apology for the action of Captain Wilkes, together with the release of Mason and Slidell. Although Congress had promptly approved of the proceeding, Lincoln admitted that the seizure was wrong, and the commissioners were given up.¹¹

In the preceding paragraph mention was made of the blockade of the Southern coast. Not only was there a constant patrol of the entire Southern coast to prevent supplies from reaching the Confederacy and to prevent its products from being sent abroad, but many points along the coast had been seized by Federal forces. This "circle of iron" around the Confederacy continually tightened and eventually reduced the South to helplessness.

On the other hand, the South had relied on the power of "King Cotton" to compel recognition

¹¹ Mason had been a United States Senator from Virginia. Slidell was a Senator at the time of the secession of Louisiana. He was born and educated in New York, but, like the majority of Northern men who settled in the South, or Southern men who settled in the North, he supported the State or section where he had gone to live.

abroad. It was believed that if the cotton supply was held back from the great mills of England, the cry of thousands thrown out of work and the demands of the manufacturers would compel the British Government to take action. There was, indeed, great suffering in England on this account; but the supply of cotton on hand at the beginning of the war was very large; as it was used sparingly and sold at increased prices, the manufacturers weathered the storm, and the unemployed workingmen were persuaded to endure their ills, largely because it was represented to them that the North was fighting to put an end to slavery.¹²

Campaigns of 1862.—In 1862, the military leaders of the Federal forces laid down a definite plan of campaign, consisting of three distinct parts: (1) a second and better prepared invasion of Virginia with a view to the capture of Richmond; (2) the opening up of the Mississippi in order to cut the Confederacy in two; (3) the maintenance of a blockade of the coast line to prevent supplies from reaching the Confederacy.

Of the three parts of the plan outlined above, that in the West involved a greater variety of effort. It included an attack by gunboats and war vessels proceeding down the Mississippi from the north; an

¹² Lincoln disclaimed any intention to interfere with slavery, if the Southern States would remain in or return to the Union; but this fact was lost sight of in the progress of the conflict (see p. 317). Thousands of copies of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" were in circulation among the workingmen of the English cotton mills, so that the influence of this book was more than national. It helped to prevent recognition of the Confederacy.

notice a little-known soldier who had resigned from the United States army subsequent to service in the Mexican War. From now on Grant became a popular hero in whose ability the soldiers and the people had unusual confidence.

The Confederates were forced to make their headquarters as far south as northern Mississippi; but General Albert Sydney Johnston, considered by many the ablest of the Confederate generals in the West, assembled an army at Corinth, Mississippi, and advanced upon Grant at Pittsburgh Landing, near Shiloh Church, Tennessee. Johnston attacked Grant's army on April 6. At first the Confederates were victorious; but as Johnston was pressing his advantage, he was mortally wounded. Thereafter, the Confederate attack was disorganized; General Buell came up to the aid of Grant; and, on the following day, the Confederates were compelled to retreat. The losses in this battle were more severe than in any that had preceded it, amounting to over 10,000 killed, wounded, and captured in either army. General Halleck now took command of the Western army, which was heavily reinforced; the Confederate forces were put under the command of General Beauregard, who withdrew from Corinth farther south, leaving an important railway line in the possession of the Union army.¹³

Battle of
Shiloh,
April 6-7,
1862

¹³ The death of General Albert Sydney Johnson was in keeping with the best traditions and ideals of the American soldier. He bled to death after ordering his staff surgeon to attend to the wounds of a Union soldier. He was the first of a number of noted Confederate commanders to be wounded or killed in the hour of victory.

Prior to the fighting at Shiloh, General George H. Thomas had defeated the Confederates at the battle of Mill Springs, in Kentucky. This movement was part of an effort to enlist the Union sympathizers living in the mountainous districts of that section. Thomas, however, was not supported in his campaign and no special advantages came of the victory.

By the end of April, Commodore Farragut had run past the forts designed to protect the approach to New Orleans and had captured that city. General B. F. Butler was placed in command of the

**Battle of
Mill Springs**
**Capture of
New Orleans
and
Memphis**

army of possession. Farragut proceeded up the Mississippi. From above, the Federal gunboats descended the Mississippi and captured New Madrid and Island Number 10. On June 6, Memphis surrendered to the Federal forces, thus leaving Vicksburg and Port Hudson as the last important Confederate fortifications along the line of the Mississippi River.

In an effort to relieve the pressure on the Mississippi River, the Confederate generals Braxton Bragg and E. Kirby Smith advanced northward into Kentucky. The latter won a victory at Richmond, in that State, and



GEORGE HENRY THOMAS
Born Southampton Co., Virginia, July 31, 1816. Graduate West Point, 1840; served in Mexican War under Taylor, 1846-'47; did not go with State in secession and was appointed brigadier-general United States Volunteers, 1861; won notable Union victory at Mill Springs, Kentucky, January, 1862; called "Rock of Chickamauga"; crushed Confederate army under Hood at Nashville in last great battle in the West, December 1864. Died March 28, 1870.

**Engagements
at Richmond
and Perry-
ville, Ky.**

greatly alarmed the cities along the Ohio River. General Buell, however, fell upon Bragg at Perryville, Kentucky, on April 8, after which Bragg was forced to retire southward. A few days prior to this engagement, the Confederate generals Van Dorn and Price attacked the Federal forces at Corinth, but were defeated with heavy losses.

Since the Confederate movements immediately to the east were, in the main, unsuccessful, General Grant led the Army of Tennessee through Mississippi towards Vicksburg, ordering, at the same time, an army under General W. T. Sherman to proceed along the line of the Mississippi River. Grant, however, now came into contact with the great Confederate cavalry leader of the West, General N. B. Forrest, who repeatedly broke up his plans by cutting off his communications. Grant was obliged to retreat, and Sherman was defeated at Chickasaw Bayou by a Confederate force under Stephen D. Lee.

N. B. Forrest
and Confed-
erate cavalry
break up
Grant's plan
of campaign,
1862

On the last day of the year 1862, a battle occurred at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, between Federal and Confederate forces commanded respectively by Generals Rosecrans and Bragg. The battle was fiercely fought and was indecisive in results. It was renewed a few days later, and both armies were so badly shattered that neither took the aggressive until some time thereafter.

Close of
campaign in
West, in 1862

In the East, a naval combat had taken place in

Hampton Roads, which was destined to change the character of all subsequent fighting on the sea. When the Federal forces had abandoned Norfolk in 1861, they had sunk the wooden frigate *Merrimac*. Captain John M. Brooke (see p. 265), in coöperation with other Confederate officers, raised the *Merrimac* and turned it into an ironclad vessel by the use of ordinary iron plates and railroad rails. The *Merrimac*, renamed the *Virginia*, steamed slowly out of Norfolk and attacked the Federal fleet near Fortress Monroe, where, with but ten guns, the clumsily constructed craft faced the fire of the Federal fleet commanding more than three hundred guns. In a short time the strange new vessel had destroyed the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*, and had driven ashore the *Minnesota*, the *St. Lawrence*, and the *Roanoke*. The *Virginia* then returned to Norfolk to plan further attacks on the following day.

The "Virginia," the first ironclad vessel used in war; battle with the Federal fleet, Mar. 8, 1862

While the *Virginia* was being constructed, John Ericsson, a native of Sweden, was working upon a small, although far better constructed, ironclad in New York. This was equipped with two large guns in a revolving turret and was called the *Monitor*. The *Monitor* challenged the *Virginia* on the 9th of March and fought a fierce combat of several hours' duration. Captain Worden, of the *Monitor*, was badly wounded, and the latter withdrew to shallow water, where the *Virginia* could not follow her.

Fight between the "Virginia" and the "Monitor," Mar. 9

The *Virginia*, however, gained no advantage from

this combat. On the previous day its battering ram had been broken off in collision with the *Cumberland*, and at no time could it make a greater speed than six miles an hour. When the *Virginia* again appeared, some weeks later, the *Monitor* and other Federal vessels refused its challenge and retreated to safety under the guns of Fortress Monroe. The *Virginia*, therefore, after its first combat, was serviceable only



Battle between the *Monitor* and the *Virginia*, the latter being the name under which the former *Merrimac* fought, March 9, 1862. This was the first fight between ironclads, and it sounded the knell of wooden men-of-war.

The *Virginia* was planned by Captain John M. Brooke, the inventor of the deep-sea sounding apparatus used in laying the first Atlantic cable. The *Monitor* was constructed under the direction of John Ericsson, a Swedish engineer living in New York. Its revolving turret was the invention of an American, T. R. Timby.

as a menace to the Federal armies on land. Later, when the Confederates abandoned Norfolk, they attempted to take the *Virginia* farther up the James. The effort failed and the former *Merrimac* was again sunk, to be raised no more.

After the defeat of McDowell at the battle of Bull Run, General George B. McClellan had been called from his successful campaign in West Virginia to take command of the Federal armies in the East. From that time and for many months thereafter, McClellan drilled his men for the campaign against Richmond. In April, he prepared to advance upon the Confederate capital by way of the Chesapeake Bay and the

McClellan's
campaign
against Rich-
mond, April-
June, 1862;
movements
of Stonewall
Jackson



GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN

Born Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 3, 1826. Graduate of West Point; served with honor in Mexican War, 1846-'47; major-general at outbreak of War of Secession; attempted capture of Richmond in 1862; in command at Battle of Antietam; candidate for President, 1864; governor of New Jersey, 1877. Died 1885.

York River peninsula. McClellan landed more than 100,000 men near Fortress Monroe. At Yorktown, the scene of the surrender of Cornwallis, a force of about 11,000 Confederates under General Magruder delayed the Federal commander until reinforcements arrived under General Joseph E. Johnston, who had taken command of the Confederate armies in Virginia.

McClellan forced the Confederates to retreat, but at Williamsburg there was heavy fighting on May 5, and the entire Confederate army of about 63,000 continued to retreat until the Federal army was within sight of Richmond. At this point, however, the Confederates assumed the offensive and attacked McClellan vigorously in the battle of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, May 31 and June 1. In this engagement General Johnston was seriously wounded and Robert

E. Lee was put in command of the Confederate army.¹⁴

McClellan had expected to receive reinforcements from an army of 40,000 men under McDowell near Manassas, but the rapid movements of "Stonewall" Jackson in the Valley of Virginia overthrew his hopes of receiving assistance from that quarter.¹⁵

Jackson was in command of 15,000 men with which, subsequent to a repulse at Kernstown, on March 23, he defeated a Federal army at McDowell and another at Front Royal. He followed this up by defeating parts of General Banks' army at Newtown, and again at Winchester the following day. Although Federal reinforcements compelled Jackson to retire, he defeated Frémont at Cross Keys on the 8th of June, and another army under Shields at Port Republic the next day.

These successive Confederate victories in the Valley threatened the safety of Washington and prevented McDowell from sending reinforcements to McClellan. Within the space of a month, Jackson's small army had marched four hundred miles and fought a number of pitched battles and smaller engagements. Of even greater importance, the Confederates had captured a quantity of military and other supplies that were badly needed. Jackson was

¹⁴ Johnston was wounded fourteen times during the War of Secession. General Gustavus W. Smith succeeded Johnston for the second day of the battle, but he, in turn, was wounded.

¹⁵ General T. J. Jackson had become widely known as "Stonewall" from his stand in the first battle of Bull Run, and this very able commander has gone down in history by that name.

now free to march out of the Valley, and he joined General Lee in the defence of Richmond.

On June 26, Lee attacked McClellan at Mechanicsville, forcing the latter to withdraw at the end of the day to Gaines' Mill and Cold Harbor, where, on the following day, the Confederates were again victorious. McClellan now withdrew southward in the direction of the James River. Lee followed closely, and there was continuous fighting until McClellan made his last stand at Malvern Hill, with his back to the James River. Here the Confederates were repulsed with heavy losses, but McClellan felt obliged to give up the hard-fought field and proceed down the river to the protection of the Federal fleet.

This series of engagements has become known as the Seven Days' Battle, and the conduct of both armies showed that the training that they had undergone since Bull Run had greatly improved their fighting ability in every way. McClellan, though practically defeated by inferior numbers, had, nevertheless, given a good account of himself in the fighting, and the Confederate loss was greater than that of the Union forces, the former amounting to 20,000 men, the latter to 16,000.

President Lincoln now ordered McClellan to take charge of the defences of Washington, and called General Halleck from the West to take chief command. At the same time, the President called for 300,000 more men. General John Pope also was ordered from the West to take immediate command of the army in Virginia, which was soon to become famous as the Army of the Potomac.

Campaign
under Pope,
in summer of
1862

As soon as possible after McClellan's withdrawal from the York River peninsula, General Pope prepared plans to take the aggressive along the lines mapped out by McDowell before the first battle of Bull Run. He also called to his command the forces under Banks and Frémont from the Valley. When General Lee learned of Pope's movements, he gave directions to Jackson to move against Pope before the latter's entire army could be brought together. Accordingly, Jackson, by rapid marches, attacked a part of Pope's army at Cedar Run on August 9 and defeated it. On the 29th and 30th of August, Lee and Jackson united and defeated Pope on the former battle-field of Bull Run, whereupon Pope retreated to the defences of Washington.

The Army of Northern Virginia, as Lee's command came to be known, was depleted by this series of battles and by sickness; the soldiers were half clad, and many of them were barefooted. Nevertheless, Lee prepared to cross the Potomac in the hope that a successful invasion of the North would lead to the establishment of the Southern Confederacy. Orders were, therefore, given to Jackson to drive the Federal troops out of the northern end of the Valley of Virginia. This Jackson accomplished



THOMAS J. (STONEWALL)
JACKSON

Born Clarksburg, Virginia (West Virginia), January 21, 1824. Graduate of West Point; served with distinction in War with Mexico, 1846-'47; received title of "Stonewall" at first battle of Bull Run, or Manassas; won notable successes in Valley of Virginia and with Army of Northern Virginia; shot at Chancellorsville through mistake of Confederate troops. Died May 10, 1863.

Lee's first
northward
movement;
battle of
Antietam,
Sept. 17, 1862

by September 15th. After capturing upwards of 15,000 men and valuable munitions of war at Harpers Ferry, he marched immediately to join Lee in western Maryland.

In the meantime, McClellan had been restored to the command of the Federal army and was ready to move from Washington early in September. Lee had crossed the Potomac, and advance guards of the hostile armies met in the mountains within sight of Frederick, Maryland. Here a copy of Lee's plan of campaign was found and taken to McClellan. The latter at once took advantage of this information and attempted to overwhelm Lee while Jackson was engaged in the capture of Harpers Ferry. At South Mountain, however, the Confederate forces were able to hold McClellan's army in check long enough to enable Lee to make partial preparations for battle. McClellan moved to attack, and, on September 17, there occurred at Sharpsburg, on Antietam Creek, one of the greatest conflicts of the war, in which the Confederate losses were almost twice as heavy as the Federal in proportion to the number of men engaged in the battle. The fighting of the entire day resulted in a drawn battle. Lee held his ground and waited one day for further attack; but scarcity of supplies and inferiority in numbers compelled him to retire across the Potomac.

McClellan now proposed to make an effort to advance upon Richmond by land; but his movements were very slow and he was again removed from command, this time in favor of General Burnside, who had ably commanded McClellan's left

wing at Antietam. On receiving the command, Burnside advanced rapidly to the Rappahannock opposite Fredericksburg, where Lee occupied a strongly fortified position. Here the Federal army made a series of brilliant charges, but they were completely re-

Campaign
under
Burnside,
November-
December,
1862

pulsed with heavy losses. The battle of Fredericksburg took place December 13, 1862, and closed the campaign in the East for that year.¹⁶

From the beginning of the war, President Lincoln had been urged by the abolitionists to issue a proclamation freeing the slaves. Lincoln had resisted this demand, not because he was against emancipation, but be-

The Emanci-
pation Pro-
clamation,
Jan. 1, 1863



GEORGE GORDON MEADE

Born Cadiz, Spain, December 31, 1815. Graduate West Point; served under Taylor in Mexican War, 1846-'47; commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers, 1861; after wounding of Hooker in battle of Antietam, in command of First Corps; succeeded Hooker as commander of Army of the Potomac, June 28, 1863; commanded at Gettysburg; later appointed major-general regular army. Died Philadelphia, November, 1872.

cause he had held to his belief that he had no constitutional right to take such a step. After the battle of Antietam, however, he gave notice that if the seceding States did not return to the Union by January 1, 1863, he would issue a proclamation of emancipation offering freedom to the negroes within the Confederate lines. He would, he said, do this as a part of his

¹⁶ Burnside had been successful in command of the "Coast Division" of the Army of the Potomac. He had, early in the year, occupied Roanoke Island, and captured Newbern and Fort Macon, in the Carolinas.

“war powers.” The proclamation, therefore, did not offer emancipation to the negroes in any State under Federal control. It was believed that if the negroes in the Southern States were offered their freedom through the aid of the Federal forces, they might rise in insurrection and thereby compel the men of the Confederacy to abandon the field of battle and return to their homes. It was believed, also, that if the Federal Government took this step, the sympathies of the world would rest with the North as the champion of freedom and the opponent of slavery.

The Southern States showed no sign of yielding prior to January 1, 1863, and the Emancipation Proclamation was announced. The belief that it would embarrass the Confederate armies was mistaken. The negroes, for the most part, seemed content to remain as they were, even when the news of their promised freedom reached them. They continued, by their labor in the fields, to support the Southern armies as best they could. As a rule, they were as hearty in their loyalty to the South as any of the non-combatants left at home. The kindly relations which existed between master and slave were a tribute to the character of both races. The world had not seen such relations before, and it will not see them again; for the world has now properly advanced beyond the age of slavery in any form, however mild. The second belief with regard to the Emancipation Proclamation held good. It served the important purpose of persuading the masses of the British people, and especially the workingmen of the great Lancashire cotton mills, that the triumph of the Union cause would put an end to slavery.

Campaigns of 1863.—After the failure of General Burnside at Fredericksburg, he was superseded by General Joseph E. Hooker. At Chancellorsville the opposing armies met in battle during the first three days of May. The Confederates were victorious, but their victory cost them the services of "Stonewall" Jackson. Jackson fell, mortally wounded by the fire of his own men, who, in the dusk of the evening of May 2, mistook him and those with him for Federal troops. Since Lee regarded Jackson as his right-hand man, the loss of this leader was equivalent to a defeat.¹⁷

Lee now began preparations for a second northward movement with a view to gaining control of part of Pennsylvania, and of securing much-needed supplies both in food and clothing. Opposing him was General Hooker, who, late in June, was superseded by General George Gordon Meade. The hostile armies met somewhat unexpectedly at Gettysburg, in southern Pennsylvania, where a force of Confederates had gone in quest of shoes and clothing. On July 1 the Confederate columns attacked the Federal cavalry and infantry at Gettysburg. At first the Confederates were driven back, but in the latter part of the afternoon they were reinforced, and the Federal troops were in turn defeated. Both armies began to fortify positions on opposing ridges in preparation for a continuance of the battle the following day.

Lee's second
northward
movement;
Gettysburg,
July 1-3, 1863

On July 2, General Lee determined to force the fighting and take the offensive. His orders to attack

¹⁷ Jackson died on May 10, 1863.

early in the morning, however, were not carried out by General Longstreet. Happily for Federal success, this delay by Longstreet gave time for the energetic Sedgwick, by forced marches, to arrive with fresh troops. When the Confederates attacked, they were but partly successful in gaining the ground for which they contended. On the renewal of the battle

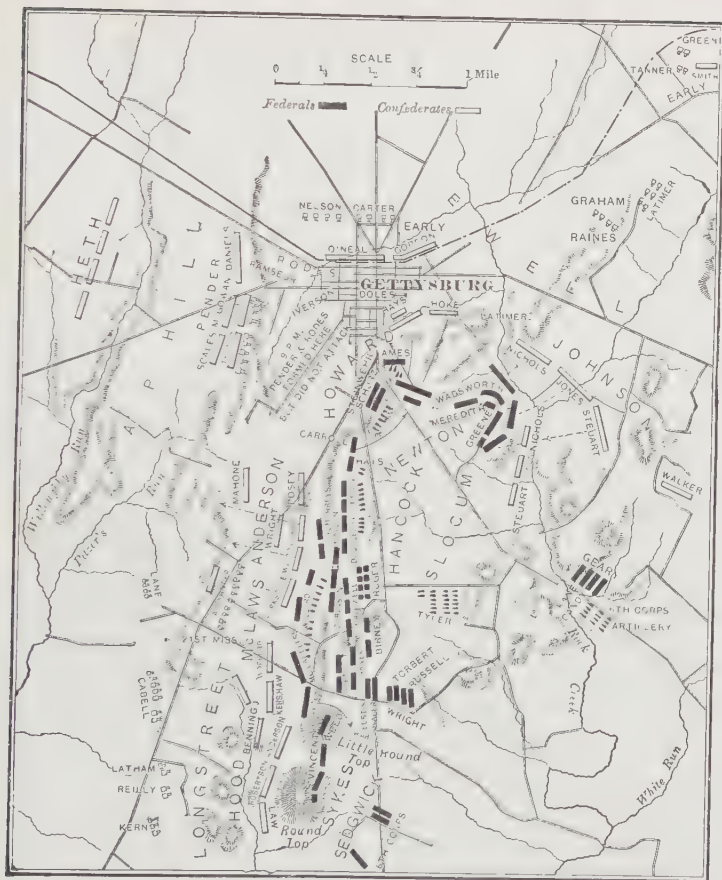


BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG (by Rothermel)

This represents the high tide of the Confederate invasion of the North. In the charge of Pickett and Pettigrew, the Confederates, for a few minutes, held the centre of the Federal line, but were forced back on the last day of the three days' fight, July 3, 1863.

the following day, Longstreet again delayed the attack until the afternoon, by which time General Meade had greatly strengthened his line of battle and had been heavily reinforced. Consequently, the Union troops held these lines in face of one of the fiercest charges of the war, led by Generals Pickett and Pettigrew.¹⁸

¹⁸ In the glamour of the brilliant Confederate charge of Pickett and Pettigrew, the decisive action of General John Sedgwick is often overlooked. His forced march to the field of battle is worthy of special mention. Sedgwick was always at the forefront of the fighting until he fell in battle near Spottsylvania Court House,



MAP OF THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

As at Antietam, Lee awaited an attack during the whole of the day after the conflict. The Union army

May 9, 1864. The Confederate cavalry commander, J. E. B. Stuart, had ridden around the Federal army, arriving at Gettysburg the second day of the battle. Stuart was mortally wounded two days after the death of Sedgwick in the same series of battles.

did not take the aggressive, and Lee was obliged to withdraw from the field on the night of July 4. In round numbers, the Union losses were 23,000 men, and the Confederate over 20,000. The entire forces of either side were: Confederate, 62,000 to 75,000; Federal, 90,000 to 100,000. Although the Federal armies followed slowly the retreating forces, there was no further fighting of consequence in the East during the remainder of 1863.



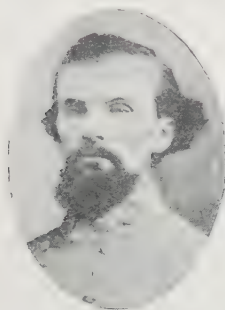
Gun- and mortar-boats attacking Confederate fortifications on the Mississippi River. The Mississippi passed under Federal control shortly after the fall of Vicksburg in 1863.

After Gettysburg, Lee felt compelled to deplete his own ranks in the Army of Northern Virginia in an effort to repel the aggressive movements of the Federal forces in the West. The same day on which Lee was retiring from the field of Gettysburg, the stronghold of Vicksburg surrendered to the land and naval forces under General Grant and Admiral Porter. A few days later, the Mississippi was wholly in the hands

Capture of
Vicksburg,
July 4, 1863;
Confederacy
cut in two

of the Federal forces, and the Confederacy was cut in two.

In the West, it seemed for a while that the hope of the Confederacy lay in the natural military genius of the Confederate cavalry leader, General N. B. Forrest. This leader, unlike the great majority of the more successful commanders on either side, had



NATHAN B. FORREST

Born Bedford County, Tennessee, July 13, 1821. Had no military training; entered Confederate service as private; showed exceptional talent for war and rose to lieutenant-general; as such was rated by Grant and Sherman as their most formidable foe in the West; after the war, became leader of Ku Klux Klan, 1867-'69. Died 1877.

had no previous military training; but he possessed natural abilities of a very high order, and his activity and daring made the movements of the Federal armies uncertain. From the time of his appointment to a Confederate command to the end of the war, he succeeded in capturing a total of over 30,000 prisoners.

Movements
of N. B.
Forrest

In September, Rosecrans took possession of Chattanooga and set out to pursue General Bragg; but the latter, reinforced by Long-

Battle of
Chickamauga, Sept.
19-20, 1863

street, attacked Rosecrans at Chickamauga on the 19th and 20th of September. The Federal right wing was shattered and the army was saved from destruction by the determined stand of General George H. Thomas, who became known thereafter as the "Rock of Chickamauga." The total losses in this two days' battle were very heavy.

After Chickamauga, Rosecrans was superseded by Thomas, who was given the command of the Army

of the Cumberland, while General William T. Sherman was made commander of the Army of the Tennessee, both being in one military department under General Grant. On November 24, Bragg was defeated at Lookout Mountain; and, on the following day, Thomas and Sherman attacked the Confederates at Missionary Ridge. This engagement caused Bragg to retreat into Georgia, and Longstreet to retreat before the forces of Burnside and Sherman.

**Battles of
Lookout
Mountain
and
Missionary
Ridge, Nov.
24-25, 1863**

The Union armies had now driven a wedge into the heart of the Confederacy from the Middle West. Grant was called to take command of the armies in the East, and Sherman, with a strong force, planned to march to the southeast into the States on the Atlantic seaboard. By the skilful use of superior numbers in a series of well-executed flanking movements, he compelled General Joseph E. Johnston to retire from one position to another as far as Atlanta. At this place, General Johnston was replaced by General John B. Hood. Hood, however, was unable to stop Sherman's advance, and Atlanta fell into the hands of the Federal forces. Hood moved northward, hoping to draw Sherman after him. Sherman, however, did not follow; for he felt confident that General Thomas would be able to cope with Hood in Tennessee. At Franklin, on November 30, Hood encountered General Schofield in a stubborn engagement. Thomas, however, joined Schofield and completely shattered the Confederate army at Nashville on December 15 and 16.

**Sherman's
march to the
sea, 1863**

Except for a small Confederate force under General Joseph E. Wheeler, Sherman was now unopposed in his march to the sea. He reached Savannah December 21, from which point he prepared to march northward in an effort to crush Lee between his forces and those under Grant. He had previously determined to make the lower South feel most severely the hand of war, and he made no effort to restrain his soldiers from destroying property of all



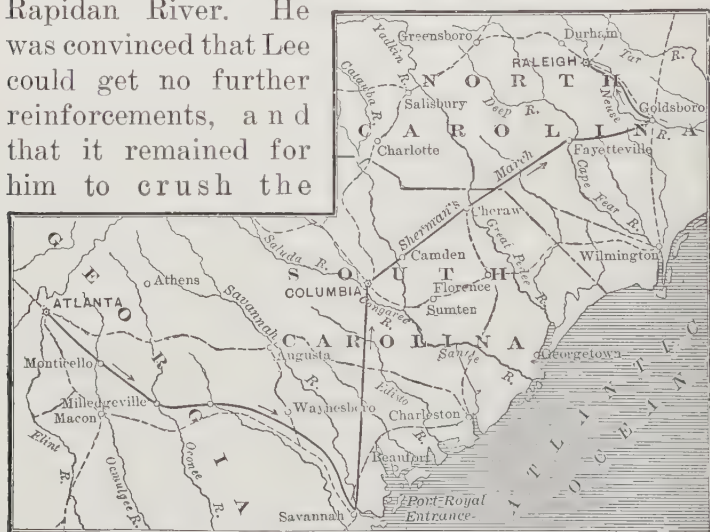
Battle of Chickamauga, near the Georgia-Tennessee line. Here Gen. George H. Thomas saved the Union Army from entire disaster or annihilation and earned the title of the "Rock of Chickamauga."

kinds. He burned much of Atlanta, and his estimate of the damage done in the State of Georgia alone amounted to about \$100,000,000. Food supplies became scarcer and scarcer in the Confederacy; and the people and the Confederate soldiers were, at times, obliged to subsist on parched corn.

Final Campaigns of the War, 1864-'65.—In Virginia, Grant had summoned from the West his cavalry

leader, General Philip H. Sheridan. One army, under General Sigel, was sent into the Valley of Virginia to break Lee's communication with that section, while General B. F. Butler attempted to advance from Fortress Monroe. Grant himself marched southward with an army of 120,000 men to attack Lee, who was south of the Rapidan River. He was convinced that Lee could get no further reinforcements, and that it remained for him to crush the

Grant's
Wilderness
campaign,
1864



SHERMAN'S MARCH, ATLANTA TO RALEIGH

Army of Northern Virginia by cutting off its supplies and by force of superior numbers. On May 5 and 6 there occurred fierce fighting in the "Wilderness," not far from Fredericksburg. Here the Federal losses amounted to 18,000 men, and the army seemed in danger of serious defeat; but a successful Confederate charge was broken up through the wounding of General Longstreet, causing a delay which enabled

Grant to re-form his forces. A few days later, near Spottsylvania Court House, Grant made a second effort to pass around Lee's right wing. Three days of fighting resulted, in which the Federal losses were especially heavy.¹⁹

After the battle of Spottsylvania Court House, Grant manœuvred still farther to the South in the effort to turn the Confederate right; but, at Cold Harbor, not far from Richmond, he was again repulsed by Lee with great losses in killed, wounded, and captured.



PHILIP H. SHERIDAN

Born Albany, New York, March 6, 1831. Graduate West Point, 1853; served with distinction in the West and the East throughout the War of Secession; appointed major-general. Commander Fifth Military District in the South during Reconstruction. Died 1888.

The Confederate and Federal forces were now in a position somewhat similar to that occupied by them in 1862, and Lee sent orders to General Jubal A. Early to make a sharp attack in the Valley of Virginia and to threaten Washington, with the hope of causing Grant to withdraw some of his

Early's
northward
movement,
summer of
1864

forces, as McClellan had done two years before. Early was successful in defeating the Federal forces in the Valley; after which he entered Pennsylvania as far as Chambersburg and, contrary to the course pursued by Lee in the Gettysburg campaign, began the destruction of property in retaliation for the ravages of some of the Federal commanders. He defeated, also, General Lew Wallace at the Monocacy

¹⁹ See footnote, p. 307.

River near Frederick, and threatened the fortifications at Washington.

General Grant, however, was not to be turned from his purpose of overwhelming Lee. He sent General Sheridan with a strong army to drive the Confederates out of the Valley of Virginia and further to lay waste that part of the country through the destruction of food supplies of every description. Sheridan defeated Early near Winchester and again at Fisher's Hill two days later.

Sheridan
defeats
Early
in Valley of
Virginia,
autumn of
1864

In the meantime General Grant had determined to cross the James and approach Richmond from the south by way of Petersburg. On July 30, a great mine was exploded under the Confederate fortifications and the Federal troops attempted to break through the Confederate lines. They were repulsed, however, with many losses; and the "Battle of the Crater" closed the active fighting for the year. Grant had been unsuccessful in attacking Lee by frontal or by flanking movements, and he now determined to erect fortifications and overthrow the Confederate army by means of siege operations.

Close of
Grant's cam-
paign of 1864

This decision on the part of the Federal commander proved to be a wise one. The Confederacy had been cut in two along the line of the Mississippi, and the Eastern remnant had itself been cut in two by Sherman's march to the sea. The Confederate soldier had been ill-clad and ill-fed from almost the beginning, and his condition was continually getting worse. At no time in the history of the country did

American troops suffer greater hardships and privations than those the Confederates were called upon to endure in the trenches around Petersburg during the winter of 1864-'65. It is said that here began the system of entrenchments which is, perhaps, the principal feature of modern warfare. For the first time in history, a large body of men were detailed by the Confederates to cut wire entanglements before

Suffering of the Confederates; Lee's line broken at Five Forks, Mar. 29, 1865



The sinking of the *Alabama* by the *Kearsarge*, June 19, 1864. Much of the *Kearsarge* was skilfully covered by chain armor, concealed under wooden planking. The *Alabama* was constructed at Liverpool in 1862, and was commanded by Admiral Raphael Semmes. One of her officers was the uncle of Theodore Roosevelt, who was, at this time, six years old.

the attacking troops could hope for success. This was done on the night of March 25, when General John B. Gordon, more to relieve the distress of his troops than in the hope of a great victory, made a night attack upon Fort Stedman, within the Federal lines. The fort was captured, but the Confederates were driven back with severe losses; and, on the 29th

of March, Sheridan broke through Lee's line of defence in the battle of Five Forks.

On the 2d of April, Petersburg and Richmond were evacuated by the Confederates and fell into the hands of the Federal troops. Lee was obliged to retreat and attempt to join Johnston in North Carolina. His soldiers, however, were without food, and he was unable to proceed. The

Lee
surrenders at
Appomattox
Court House,
April 9, 1865

delay, consequently, gave an opportunity for Grant to throw a large force across his path. The Army of Northern Virginia had now been reduced to a few thousand half-famished men, many of whom were too weak to fight. On April 9, therefore, General Lee

decided that further resistance would involve a useless sacrifice of human lives, and on that day he met General Grant at Appomattox Court House, where terms of surrender were agreed upon.

This action of Lee was in keeping with his high character; and Grant, on his part, allowed the Confederates liberal terms of surrender. Officers and men were paroled and given permission not only to go



ROBERT EDWARD LEE

Born Westmoreland County, Virginia, January 19, 1807. Graduate West Point; served with especial distinction under Scott in war with Mexico, 1847; superintendent West Point, 1852-'58; declined command of Federal Army after secession of Virginia; entered service of his State; appointed, 1862, to command of Army of Northern Virginia; elected president of Washington College, Lexington, Virginia. Died October 12, 1870.

home, but to take with them their side arms and horses. The joy of the Federal army was great; but Grant was considerate of the feelings of the vanquished and did not permit his men to show their triumph in the face of defeated fellow-Americans.

The war was now practically ended. The question of secession had been at last settled. The Federal *Republic* had become a consolidated *Nation*. On April 26, Johnston surrendered to Sherman near Raleigh, N. C.; and other Confederate troops in the Southwest surrendered shortly thereafter. Jefferson Davis was captured in Georgia on May 11, and was held prisoner at Fortress Monroe two years thereafter until released on parole.

Cessation of
hostilities

President Lincoln's Re-election and Death; Administration of Andrew Johnson.—In 1864, President Lincoln had been renominated by the Republican party, and Andrew Johnson was chosen as candidate for Vice-President. Johnson had been a Union Democrat from Tennessee, then under Federal control. The Democrats nominated General George B. McClellan and George H. Pendleton, of Ohio. Lincoln and Johnson were elected by an overwhelming majority.

Lincoln re-
elected, 1864

It will be remembered that the slaves in the Union, or loyal, States were not included in the terms of the Emancipation Proclamation (p. 304); so, early in 1865, Congress passed an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery "within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." This amendment was submitted to the States; and after ratifica-

The
Thirteenth
Amendment
prohibits
slavery, 1865

tion by three-fourths of the State legislatures, became a law in December of the same year.

Five days after the surrender of Lee, the whole country was horrified by the assassination of President Lincoln in Ford's Theatre, in Washington. It was the insane deed of an actor, who had been crazed by the war and events connected with it. The President died early the next morning, and the act proved a real calamity to the Southern people; for Lincoln had counseled the same liberality in the treatment of the war-torn South that Grant had already shown at Appomattox.

Assassina-
tion of Presi-
dent Lincoln,
April 14, 1865

Now, however, in the passion of the moment, the deed was represented as inspired by sympathizers with the Confederacy. The radical faction, which Lincoln had, in large measure, held in check, got control of Congress. This faction called loudly for a policy of vengeance, and a long period of oppression and misgovernment followed before the moderate people of the North, representing the majority of the people of that section, could prevail and give time to the Southern people to recover from the effects of the war and adapt themselves to new conditions.

Effect of
Lincoln's
death on
reconstruc-
tion policies

Upon the death of Lincoln, Andrew Johnson became President. The latter wished to carry out Lincoln's policies with regard to the South.²⁰ The

²⁰ On one point, however, Johnson differed with the former President. Lincoln had said: "I hope there will be no persecution, no bloody work after this war is over." Johnson, on the contrary, at first counseled severe measures against the Confederate leaders.

Radical wing of the Republican party, led by Representative Thaddeus Stevens, was now the loudest in praise of the dead President and the first to attack his policies. In 1866, Congress passed a Civil Rights Bill granting full citizenship to the free negroes. This bill went into effect at once and afterwards (1868) became the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The bill provided also for the disfranchisement of the great majority of the white voters through denying the suffrage to any one who had "engaged in insurrection or rebellion" against the United States.²¹

The Southern States, with the exception of Tennessee, refused to ratify the Civil Rights Bill as an amendment to the Constitution; Congress, therefore, declared the Southern States out of the Union and divided the South into five great military "districts." These districts were placed under the supreme authority of officers of the United States Army while Reconstruction went on under the terms imposed by Congress. In this

Andrew
Johnson and
Reconstruction;
Fourteenth
Amendment,
1868



ANDREW JOHNSON

Born Raleigh, North Carolina, December 29, 1808. Moved to Tennessee and became supporter of Andrew Jackson; United States Senator, 1857-'62; opposed secession of Tennessee; elected Vice-President, 1861; succeeded to Presidency on death of Lincoln, 1865; endeavored to carry out Lincoln's policies, but failed. Died 1875.

²¹ To the teacher: The word "Rebellion" as applied to the War of Secession was, for some time, the official term employed by the United States Government. Later, owing to the recognition of the historical basis for the contentions of those engaged in the support of secession, the term was abandoned.

period much of the direction of government was in the control of unprincipled adventurers from the North, who came to be known as "carpet-baggers."²² These adventurers were aided by white men in the South called "scalawags." In 1865 a Freedmen's Bureau was organized to help the newly emancipated negro, to see that he received fair returns for his labor, and to give him abandoned lands. These purposes were good, but politicians abused the powers of the Bureau to dispossess the whites and to stir up friction between the races.

In February, 1869, Congress proposed the Fifteenth Amendment, declaring that the "right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged . . . on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This amendment was subsequently ratified by the States and became law.

For some time, with respect to reconstruction legislation, President Johnson had been in opposition to the Radical majority in Congress. This majority attempted to limit the influence of the President by passing the "Tenure of Office Act." This act forbade the President to remove a government official without the consent of the Senate. The President

²² These people were, of course, not at all representative of the North. For a while only did they succeed in misrepresenting the Southern people in the North and in giving a false impression of Northern people at the South. "They came south with a carpet-bag only," said one Northern observer, and frequently "departed with their ill-gotten thousands or millions, according to their success in bleeding the country they lived upon."

believed that this act was unconstitutional, and thereafter dismissed Secretary of War Stanton, who had been a powerful representative of the Radical element in the Cabinet.

In February, 1868, the House of Representatives accused the President of "high crimes and misdemeanors." This was called "impeachment" proceedings; and the trial, according to the terms of the Constitution (Article II, Section 4; and Article I, Section 3), took place in the Senate. A two-thirds vote was necessary for conviction. After two months of argument, the vote resulted 35 to 19 for conviction of the President. One more vote for conviction would have removed the President from office.

In the midst of the War of Secession, England, Spain, and France sent an armed force into Mexico to collect debts due those countries. England and Spain withdrew; but Napoleon III, Emperor of France, thought he saw a good opportunity to make Archduke Maximilian of Austria Emperor of Mexico. By the aid of French troops, Maximilian gained control in Mexico; but as soon as the United States was free from civil strife, the Monroe Doctrine was reasserted with vigor, and it was proposed that a combined force of Federal and Confederate veterans should be sent to fight side by side "for American rights" against European aggression. In the face of this threat of war by the United States, and because of an impending conflict in Europe, Napoleon with-

Trial of
President
Johnson,
1868

Mexico,
Maximilian,
and the
Monroe
Doctrine

drew his troops. Maximilian was defeated and executed; Mexico was saved for the Mexicans; and the Monroe Doctrine was vindicated.

During Johnson's administration Russia offered Alaska to the United States. A treaty was accordingly agreed upon by which the United States purchased that vast and then almost unexplored territory for \$7,200,000. The United States thus acquired 577,000 additional square miles in "a new Northwest," representing an area almost equal in extent to that of the United States east of the Mississippi.

Purchase of
Alaska, 1867

In 1868, the Republicans nominated General Ulysses S. Grant and Schuyler Colfax as their candidates for President and Vice-President. The Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour, of New York, and Francis P. Blair, of Missouri. General Grant thus became the first of a series of Presidential candidates who had seen service in the War of Secession. Grant and Colfax were elected by a large majority.

General U. S.
Grant elected
President,
1868

Administrations of General Grant.—It is difficult to describe the terrible conditions that existed in the South during the last years of Johnson's administration and much of the period under Grant. A combination of "carpet-baggers," "scalawags," and negroes was in control of the government in several States. The Freedmen's Bureau, intended to aid the negroes, became a means for corrupting them. A "Loyal League" of negroes was created, the purpose of which was to keep the control of the govern-

Reconstruction
policies
under the
control of
the Radical
element in
Congress

ment in the hands of the baser elements of both races.

Throughout the four years of war there had been little violence and almost no crimes committed by negroes in any part of the South. They had taken care of the small farms and large plantations of the whites, and the relations between the races were most friendly.²³ Under the new conditions of freedom, every temptation was suddenly thrown into the way of the negro. Crimes of all kinds were committed; and the criminals, if caught, were frequently permitted to go unpunished. The better class of whites had little part in the government; so that they and the law-abiding negroes could get no redress from courts, judges, or jurors. The State legislatures presented scenes of riot and extravagance that had never been seen before in a civilized country. Thousands of negroes left the farms untilled and crowded into the villages and cities of the



ULYSSES S. GRANT

Born Point Pleasant, Ohio, April 27, 1822. Was graduated at West Point, 1843; served with distinction in war with Mexico; resigned from army and lived near St. Louis, Missouri; as brigadier-general in War of Secession, won notable successes in the West; as lieutenant-general, 1864, prosecuted campaign against Lee until latter surrendered, April 9, 1865; President, 1869-'77. Died, Mt. McGregor, New York, July 23, 1885.

²³ "History has no parallel to the faith kept by the negro in the South during the war. Often five hundred negroes to a single white man, and yet through these dusky throngs the women and children walked in safety, and the unprotected homes rested in peace. . . . I rejoice that when freedom came to him after years of waiting, it was all the sweeter because the black hands from which the shackles fell were stainless of a single crime against the helpless ones confided to his care."—From an address by Henry W. Grady, of Atlanta and New York.

South, seeking support from the Federal soldiers or from the Freedmen's Bureau. Those who had savings were swindled out of them by the promise of "forty acres and a mule" and other aids to be given to them by the United States Government.

During these times of disorder and corruption the Southern whites in many States organized secret societies, which came to be known collectively as the "Ku Klux Klan." The Klan went about in disguises and sought to terrify the evil element in control. As a rule, the Klan gathered at night as quiet, white-sheeted, ghostlike, but determined men. They warned or punished only the criminal or vicious classes. Nevertheless, the Klan was outside the law, and United States courts took measures to suppress it. In 1869, however, the Klan disbanded of its own accord.²⁴

The Ku Klux
Klan,
1867-'69

In 1872, the Republicans again nominated General Grant for President. Those Republicans, however, who were dissatisfied with the conduct of Reconstruction in the South nominated Horace Greeley, of New York. The Democrats endorsed Greeley; but Grant was elected by a large majority. Greeley died before the electoral votes were cast.

President
Grant re-
elected, 1872

The period following the War of Secession was a period of great corruption in public office. General Grant's administration was not unlike that of Andrew

²⁴ The organized "Klan" existed from 1867 to 1869. It was composed of the better class of white citizens. After it disbanded, irresponsible bodies adopted its disguises and sometimes committed acts of violence and revenge.

Jackson in that both Presidents were misled by designing men. Under Grant, however, the opportunities for corruption were greater; and, for that reason, millions were misspent and thousands of offices were "bought and sold" where the figures in the days of Jackson had been much smaller. Unusual efforts were made to develop the West. Many of the laws passed for this purpose were excellent; but scandals crept in, especially in the matter of funds appropriated for building transcontinental railway systems.

In 1871 a great fire destroyed buildings over an area of 2000 acres in Chicago. Boston was visited by a destructive fire the following year. The losses in these fires amounted to a quarter of a billion dollars. In 1873 there were many failures of banks and business houses of all kinds. A financial panic followed; and, after the era of great spending and expansion, there came several years of "hard times" and suffering among the poor and the unemployed.²⁵ In 1875, Congress began to make provision for the redemption in coin of the notes or "greenbacks" issued in large quantities during and after the War of Secession. This redemption was carried into effect a few years later, and the "greenback" rose to its par value.

During the early part of this period the western Indians had been badly treated by corrupt govern-

²⁵ This panic followed on the heels of others in 1867 and 1869. In 1869 and in 1873, the crisis occurred on Friday,—hence the term "Black Friday," familiarly used for many years thereafter.

ment agents and by white adventurers. Several Indian uprisings took place. The Apaches of Arizona rose in 1871, and the Modoc Indians of the Pacific coast in 1873. These were put down without serious loss of life; but, in 1876, the Sioux Indians surrounded and annihilated a body of United States troops led by General Custer. The Sioux leader, Sitting Bull, fled to Canada, but died in the United States many years later.

In 1876 there was a strong movement led by the supporters of President Grant to renominate him for a third term. This movement, however, was defeated, and the Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, for President. The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden, of New York. After the election, disputes arose as to the electoral votes of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, together with one electoral vote from Oregon. The Southern States were still under the control of "carpet-bag" governments. These governments threw out Democratic majorities on the ground that negroes had been intimidated at the polls. Certificates of election were therefore given to Republican electors in the place of Democratic ones. A serious crisis had arisen, and there was great excitement throughout the country. Congress appointed a commission to pass upon the disputed votes. This commission was composed of five members from the House, five from the Senate, and five Justices of the Supreme Court. Eight were Republicans and seven were Democrats, and the commission, by an eight-to-seven majority, decided,

Indian
uprisings

Disputed
Presidential
election of
1876

March 2, 1877, to award all the disputed votes to Hayes, who was, therefore, elected by a majority of one vote over Tilden. No disorder followed, and the country abided quietly by the decision of the Commission.

POINTS OF INTEREST; SUGGESTIONS FOR READING OR DISCUSSION

There were but few naval combats on the ocean during the War of Secession. The Federal fleet was engaged in blockading the coast line of the Confederacy. This blockade sapped the strength of the South and shut off all supplies from a country which, at that time, was unable to supply itself from within. The Confederate States managed to construct a few vessels, among them the first ironclad used in war (p. 296), also the first submarine craft that succeeded in torpedoing a hostile warship (see, also, p. 152). This submarine, the *Hunley*, proved a "death-trap" for successive crews on three trial trips. In each case it settled on the bottom; but the vessel was raised and new volunteers offered themselves. Finally, in Charleston harbor, it succeeded in destroying the United States warship *Housatonic* and, with its victim, sank for the last time.²⁶

The first
successful
submarine

²⁶ In view of the important part played by submarines in modern warfare, the following description of the *Hunley* is of especial interest: "After two attempts, the builders constructed, largely out of a cylindrical boiler which happened to be on hand, a boat thirty feet long, four feet wide, and five feet deep—a huge iron coffin in looks, a huge iron coffin in her brief career to fully thirty-two brave men, and withal one of the most remarkable craft that ever rode the waters. Her power was that of eight men who turned the shaft of an ordinary propeller, in default of storage batteries and gasoline motors. There were ballast-tanks to take in sea-water, and a force-pump to eject it. She submerged by taking in water and by depressing external fins like those of a fish, and traveled very slowly when submerged, the men working in total darkness save for the light of a single candle, and so crowded together that no one could leave his seat or his position—the two navigators standing with their heads in the two hatchways by which the boat was entered and left."—Oswald Garrison Villard, in *Harper's Monthly*, June, 1916.

The Confederate Commissioners, following the example of John Paul Jones, secured and equipped a few vessels in foreign countries. The most famous of these was the *Alabama*, under the command of Captain (later Rear-Admiral) Raphael Semmes. This very able commander defeated the United States cruiser *Hatteras* off Galveston, and almost drove the commerce of the United States from the Atlantic Ocean. Finally, off the coast of France, Semmes accepted a challenge from Captain Winslow, of the *Kearsarge*. Winslow had skillfully concealed iron chains under some planking on the Federal warship. The shots of the *Alabama* fell harmlessly from the sides of the *Kearsarge*, while the latter riddled the *Alabama* and sent her to the bottom.²⁷

The fight
between the
"Alabama"
and the
"Kearsarge,"
June 19, 1864

To the teacher: Sketches of Farragut and of Semmes may be prepared; or accounts of Lieutenant Cushing's exploit in blowing up the Confederate ironclad *Albatross*, and the career of the Confederate ram *Arkansas* in the Mississippi River.

The student should clearly understand the paragraph describing the nature of the Emancipation Proclamation as a means to an end; for President Lincoln's object in waging war was to preserve the Union. If he could hasten that end by offering freedom to the slave, he would do that. If the war could be brought to an end by guaranteeing the continuance of slavery so long as the Southern people wanted it, he would do that also. The Union armies did not fight to free the slave on the one hand; and the Confederates did not fight to maintain slavery on the other. Within the Union lines slavery continued until the action of the States in passing the Thirteenth Amendment set all the slaves free.

Emancipa-
tion impor-
tant result of
the war

We have, in this chapter, followed the story of a struggle which put the government and the people of the United States to the severest test. As the prime outcome of the struggle, the REPUBLIC found itself a consolidated NATION. It is now conceded that the Federal Government is supreme over the States. That

²⁷ Semmes had previously commanded the *Sumter*, built in the Confederate States. The Confederate ship *Shenandoah*, under the command of Captain James I. Waddell, cruised in the Pacific Ocean, where it learned of the fall of the Confederacy. It then proceeded to European waters and surrendered the last Confederate flag on November 6, 1865.

form of State rights which embraced the doctrine of secession and of nullification has now vanished. Yet, except for a short while in the "military districts" arranged by Congress, no all-powerful central government was set up. The States still maintain the general principles of local self-government, which have given the people of this country so large a measure of individual freedom.²¹

The Federal
Republic
becomes a
Nation

Washington, returning to private life in the flush of victory and of independence achieved; Lincoln, liberal-minded in the hour of victory; and Robert E. Lee, calm and courageous in the bitterness of defeat, have bequeathed to Americans a heritage more glorious than the triumphs of Alexander the Great, of Julius Cæsar, of Napoleon, or of any conqueror of whom we read in the history of any country. Just as soon as the worst evils of the Reconstruction misgovernment were done away with, the South began again to prosper. Many able young men of the South went North and wrote their names high in industrial enterprise with their fellow-countrymen of the North. Northern capital poured into the South, and with it went men with executive and business ability to develop the resources of the South. The two great sections have come more and more to have common interests. Finally, no country in the world ever saw a vanquished part reunite with the victorious section so quickly as *reunion followed division* in the UNITED STATES. It is not a government "held together by bayonets," as Horace Greeley thought it would be if war was declared; but it is held together by the far stronger ties of loyalty and affection for what Americans, North and South, believe to be a government as nearly as possible *of the people, by the people, for the people.*

Lessons
derived from
the war

²¹ To the teacher: These paragraphs, together with ensuing ones on the same subject, are of prime importance. Historians writing soon after the War of Secession placed mistaken emphasis upon the moral issue involved in slavery as the cause of political controversy and as the direct cause of the war itself. The sudden death of President Lincoln, together with an important but *incidental result* of the war in the abolition of slavery, caused many to lose sight of Lincoln's *single-hearted* purpose in waging the war *for the preservation of the Union.*

CHAPTER XIII

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD TO RECENT TIMES

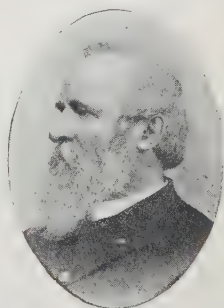
From the Close of the Reconstruction Era through War with Spain.—Americans have just cause to be proud of the calm way in which the country received the decision of the Federal commission with regard to the Presidential election of 1876. On the one hand, Tilden patriotically urged his followers to accept the decision; and, on the other hand, Hayes showed

End of Re-
construction
era

patriotism and character of a high order by conducting himself with moderation in victory. One of President Hayes' first acts was to take steps to remove Federal troops from the Southern States and to allow the people to resume self-government, so that the South might recover from the ruin of war and the even worse evils of the reconstruction era.

Relations
between
capital and
labor

In the North, during the war and for some years afterwards, immigrants from Europe poured into the United States as never before. Increasing thousands of these foreigners found ready employment in manufactories



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

Born Delaware, Ohio, October 4, 1822. Served with distinction in War of Secession, rising to rank of brigadier-general of volunteers; member Congress, 1865-'67; elected for several terms governor of Ohio; President, 1877-'81; afterwards active in prison reform movement and in educational work. Died 1893.

and mines and in building railroads. Great corporations were created, and the day of personal touch between employer and employed seemed to be past. When these relations became less intimate, labor troubles proportionately increased.

During this period great strides were made in reducing the national debt, which had grown



Completion of the first transcontinental railroad system. Meeting of the Union Pacific (working westward from Omaha) and Central Pacific (working eastward from San Francisco) Railroads in Utah in 1869.

enormously during the war, and which, at the close of hostilities, had reached a total of two and a half billion dollars. In the accomplishment of this work, Hugh W. McCulloch and David A. Wells are entitled to appreciation with the able men of earlier times, such as Robert Morris, Alexander Hamilton, and Albert Gallatin. As the Federal Government gained in stability, it was able

Reducing the
national
debt

to get loans at a lower rate of interest. Therefore it borrowed large amounts in order to pay the principal of the war debt, which bore a much higher rate of interest.¹

In 1880, another effort was made by a faction of the Republican party to nominate General Grant for a third term. The effort again failed, and the party nominated General James A. Garfield, of Ohio, who, like Grant and Hayes, had seen active service in the War of Secession. The Democrats likewise nominated a veteran of the war, General Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania. Garfield was elected; and, with him, Chester A. Arthur, of New York, as Vice-President.²

As in the case of every newly-elected President since Jackson, Garfield was surrounded by innumerable office-seekers. Because the President seemed to favor one



JAMES A. GARFIELD

Born Orange, Ohio, November 19, 1831. Served in War of Secession, rising to rank of major-general, 1863; served in Congress; elected President, 1880; shot by assassin, July 2 of the following year. Died, September 19, 1881.

¹ In 1863, Congress had provided for the establishment of a system of national banks. Banking associations were allowed to deposit United States bonds in the Federal treasury and receive in return bank notes equal in value to 90 per cent of the face value of the bonds.

² In these Presidential campaigns there were other candidates than those of the Democratic and Republican parties. The Prohibition party had begun regularly to nominate candidates; but the prohibition or anti-saloon movement gained its greatest power through the aid of political parties in the States rather than in opposition to them as a separate organization.

faction of the Republican party more than the other, he was fiercely denounced by the latter. This public abuse of Garfield, together with personal disappointment in not receiving an office, led Charles J. Guiteau to attack the President, whom he shot and mortally wounded, July 2, 1881. Garfield died on the 19th of September, and Chester A. Arthur took the oath of office as President.

Assassina-
tion of
President
Garfield, 1881



CHESTER A. ARTHUR

Born Fairfield, Vermont, October 5, 1830. Practised law in New York; elected Vice-President with Garfield, 1880; succeeded to Presidency, 1881-'85. Died 1886.

The immediate effect of the assassination of the President was to arouse the whole country to the urgent need for reform in the matter of appointments to office. Consequently, in 1883, Congress passed a law providing for the appointment of a Civil Service Commission. The powers and scope of this body were broadened until it exercised an influence on the ap-

Civil Service
Reform

pointment of the majority of the minor officials in the employ of the Federal Government. Under the Civil Service system, appointments are made by means of competitive examinations, and the appointees serve during good behavior or as long as they do their duties well. The *merit system* thus began to replace the "*spoils system*," which had been in use for nearly half a century.³

³ The name of George William Curtis should be remembered in connection with this reform. There were times when the reform was halted or even thrown backwards; but in nearly every instance the lost ground was later regained and new ground taken.

The Presidential election of 1884 was closely contested. The Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana. The Republicans nominated James G. Blaine, of Maine, and John A. Logan, of Illinois. Cleveland and Hendricks were elected by a small majority. The result was decided by the electoral vote of New York; and in this and subsequent closely-contested elections New York came to be known as the "pivotal State."⁴

Since the country had lost four Presidents by death, Congress, in 1886, passed a Presidential Succession Act. It provided that officers of the Cabinet should succeed to the Presidency in case of the death or disability of both the President

and the Vice-President. The order of succession provided was as follows:

(1) Secretary of State, (2) Secretary of the Treasury, (3) Secretary of War, and so forth, in the order of the establishment of the Cabinet offices. During the following year provision was made that the courts of the re-



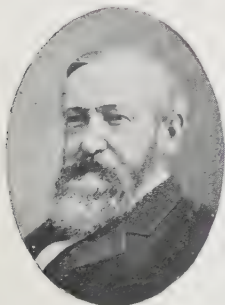
GROVER CLEVELAND

Born Caldwell, New Jersey, March 18, 1837. Practised law and entered public life in New York; Mayor of Buffalo, 1881; Governor of New York, 1882; President, 1885-'89, and again, 1893-'97. Died, Princeton, New Jersey, 1908.

⁴ On account of his attitude in opposition to civil service and other reforms, Blaine had been warmly opposed for the nomination by many Republicans, such as George F. Hoar and Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, and Andrew D. White and Theodore Roosevelt, of New York. These men ultimately supported the nominee of the party; those Republicans who opposed the nominee were called "Mugwumps."

spective States should decide contested electoral votes, so that Congress need not again face a dangerous situation, such as arose in the disputed election of 1876.

In the Presidential election of 1888 the tariff was the principal issue. The Democrats had previously



BENJAMIN HARRISON

Born North Bend, Ohio, August 20, 1833. Graduate Miami University; practised law in Indiana; served in War of Secession and brevetted brigadier-general at close of war; United States Senator, 1881-'87; President, 1889-'93. Died in Indianapolis, March 13, 1901.

declared themselves in favor of lowering import taxes; but a Republican majority in the Senate had prevented any action by Cleveland and the Democratic ma-

Benjamin
Harrison
elected
President,
1888

jority in the House. Cleveland was again, in 1888, the nominee of the Democrats on a "tariff reform" platform. The Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, a grandson of former President William H. Harrison. Cleveland was defeated, although he received a larger plurality of the *popular vote* than when he was

elected four years previously. This time New York gave her 36 *electoral* votes to Harrison, and with those votes went victory for the Republican party.

A glance at the table in Appendix E will show that after the admission of Nevada and Nebraska, in 1864 and 1867, only one State, Colorado, had been admitted into the Union in the twenty-two years from 1867 to 1889. In 1889, however, four new States were added, and two more were admitted in 1890. These States were

Admission of
new States
in the West,
1889-'90

North and South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Idaho, and Wyoming. Because of her admission into the Union on the hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Colorado became known as the "Centennial State." Like California, Colorado, as the "Territory of Jefferson," owed its first growth to the discovery of gold mines. Colorado was found to be rich in other minerals as well; and, after irrigation, her dry lands proved very valuable for agriculture.

North and South Dakota owed much of their growth to agriculture; but the discovery of precious metals in Montana, and at other points in the Northwest, aided greatly in the settlement of that whole region. Sheep grazing became a profitable industry. Across the Rocky Mountains, in Oregon and Washington, trade and industry began to thrive with the advent of more railroads and steamboat lines. The climate and soil were adapted to the production of exceptionally fine apples, pears, and other fruits. Great cities grew up in places where a few years before there had been lonely ranches or, perhaps, Indian villages.⁵ Utah, also, was being rapidly developed by the industry of the Mormons; but, owing to the practice of polygamy, Congress refused to admit the Territory into the Union as a State until polygamy should be abolished.

⁵ The Northern Pacific Railroad was completed in 1883. This road and its branches aided greatly in the development of the country.

In many of these western States woman had been given a vote. The first *Territory* permanently (see p. 83) to grant the suffrage to woman was Wyoming. This was in 1869. Colorado, as the first *State* to do so, followed in 1893. Since that time many other States have followed the precedent of these first woman-suffrage States and Territories. In some of the latter States the privilege of voting was granted to women under special restrictions. In other cases equal political rights were accorded men and women.

Under the leadership of William McKinley, the Republicans in Congress prepared to raise the tariff rates. At the same time, there was in the Republican party a strong faction which demanded the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 with gold. This faction refused to vote for the tariff if a "free silver" bill was not likewise enacted. The majority of the Republican Congressmen were opposed to "free silver," so a compromise was arranged; the McKinley tariff bill was passed, and a bill was brought forward which provided in part what the "free silver" men desired. Although making provision for an increase in the purchase of bullion, this currency bill, known as the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, could be interpreted either in a way favorable to the free coinage of silver or in a way unfavorable to it. It was subsequently interpreted in a way unfavorable to the "free silver" advocates by John G. Carlisle, Secretary of the Treasury during Cleveland's second administration. This question is of im-

Woman
Suffrage

McKinley
Tariff Bill;
Sherman
Silver Pur-
chase Act,
1890

portance, as it came forward very prominently in national politics in 1896 (p. 343).⁶

The popular outcry against the formation of predatory corporations called "trusts" had become so insistent that the great political parties united in passing the "Sherman Anti-Trust" law. This law made illegal all "combinations" formed unduly to restrain trade and throttle competition. Regulation under the provisions of this law, however, was not seriously attempted or enforced until the administrations of Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson.

Sherman
anti-trust
law, 1890

In Congress, during Harrison's administration, unusual powers were assumed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Thomas B. Reed. He made such effective use of his powers in appointing committees, in according recognition to members on the floor, and in enforcing rules to "rush" through party legislation, that he became known as "Czar" Reed.⁷

The Speaker-
ship of the
House of
Representa-
tives

⁶ Until 1873, the coinage of silver and gold had been free; that is, any one who had gold or silver bullion could take the same to the United States mints and have it made into gold or silver coin. The ratio of weight between the silver and the gold dollar was fixed at 16 to 1. In 1873, Congress made gold the unit of value and limited the coinage of silver to fractional currency; in 1878, however, the Bland-Allison Act provided for very large purchases of silver bullion, and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 was a modification of the Bland-Allison Act. It provided for the purchase each month of 4,500,000 ounces of silver, to be paid for with notes of the United States Treasury. These notes were redeemable by the Government in coin.

⁷ This extraordinary power, which began far to overshadow the power of any other official, continued during the Republican

In 1892, President Harrison was again nominated by the Republicans. The Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland for the third time. The principal issue of the campaign was the tariff. The Republicans defended the McKinley Bill; the Democrats attacked it and called for tariff reform. This time the Democrats elected the President. They secured also a large majority in the House of Representatives and a small majority in the Senate.

Cleveland re-elected, 1892

Before Cleveland was inaugurated there occurred a sharp falling off in the value of silver, and gold became scarce. At times the gold reserve reached so low a point that it became very difficult to maintain the country on a gold basis. Cleveland called Congress together in special session and brought about the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act; but financial distress continued for some time and there were many failures in business throughout the country.⁸

Financial legislation

Since the Democratic party had been returned to power on the issue of the tariff, Cleveland urged

speakership of Joseph G. Cannon. In 1910, however, a combination of Democrats and "insurgent" Republicans deprived the speakership of much of its power and influence, and materially changed the rules of the House.

⁸ It is widely believed that by these bold acts, carried through in spite of great opposition in the ranks of both great parties, Cleveland upheld the credit of the country. In his inaugural address he declared: "So far as the executive branch of the government can intervene, none of the powers with which it is invested will be withheld when their exercise is deemed necessary to maintain our national credit or to avert financial disaster."

legislation in Congress looking to a reduction of import duties in accordance with the Democratic campaign pledges. Under the leadership of William L. Wilson, the House passed a bill making material reductions in the tariff rates. In the Senate, however, the bill was very greatly modified by an alliance between the

Cleveland
thwarted in
effort to
lower the
tariff duties



STREET SCENE IN DAWSON CITY, ALASKA, AT THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Republicans and a small number of high-tariff Democrats under the leadership of Arthur P. Gorman. In its amended form, the bill passed both Houses and became known as the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Bill. President Cleveland, however, declared that the bill did not carry out the promises of the Democratic party. For this reason he refused to sign the measure, and the bill became a law without his signature.

The United States Government had many occasions for dispute with Great Britain subsequent to the

War of 1812. Besides the numerous boundary disputes arising in the second quarter of the nineteenth century (pp. 220, 243), the *Alabama* Claims had been pressed for settlement immediately after the War of Secession.⁹ Twenty years later a dispute arose with Great Britain with respect to seal fishing in the Bering Sea. This dispute was settled by arbitration, after the United States had seized a number of British ships found fishing in waters declared by the United States to be under the jurisdiction of this government. These last-named negotiations were conducted by Secretary Blaine during the administration of President Harrison.

Arbitration
with Great
Britain

During Cleveland's second term an even more serious difference arose between the United States and Great Britain with respect to the Venezuela-British Guiana boundary line. Great Britain had notified Venezuela that she purposed occupying part of the territory claimed by that country, whereupon Venezuela appealed to the United States for protection. President Cleveland at once offered the friendly services of the United States to arbitrate the dispute

⁹ The Confederate warship *Alabama* had been contracted for and constructed in England. Although the vessel left England in an unarmed condition, the United States contended that the British Government was informed of the destination of the vessel, and that it should have prevented the ship from leaving port. In 1871 a special treaty was arranged with Great Britain in order to settle this controversy by arbitration. The question was accordingly submitted to a tribunal at Geneva, Switzerland. This tribunal was composed of five members, representing, respectively, Switzerland, Italy, Brazil, Great Britain, and the United States. It awarded the United States damages amounting to \$15,500,000.

between the countries. When the British Government refused to consider this proposition, Cleveland took the position that the Monroe Doctrine was intended to protect any American country from aggression on the part of European powers. After a vigorous message sent by the President to Congress with regard to this controversy, Great Britain decided to submit the



THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The corner-stone of this building was laid in 1792. President Washington and Major P. C. L'Enfant selected the site. Much of the old Capitol was burned by the British in 1814; after the War of 1812, it was rebuilt and extended from time to time as more space was needed for the expansion of the business of the Federal Government.

matter to an international tribunal for arbitration. This tribunal carefully considered the issue and announced its decision some years later.

In 1894, President Cleveland was called upon to make a decision of far-reaching importance with regard to domestic affairs. In that year there was a great strike among railroad employes in the West,

the centre of the disturbances being at Chicago. When the railroads attempted to secure other employes, rioting followed and railroad trains were impeded or altogether blocked. President Cleveland, over the protest of the Governor of Illinois, sent troops to the scene to insure the safety and transit of United States mails and to protect interstate commerce. The action of the President indicated further control by the Federal Government in matters at one time thought to be wholly under State management.

Federal
government
insures
transit of
United
States mails

In the Presidential campaign of 1896 the Republicans nominated William McKinley, of Ohio, a champion of high tariff; while the Democrats nominated William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, who was the strongest advocate in the Democratic party of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 (p. 338). In the campaign the tariff issue was subordinated to the issue of free silver. The opponents of "free silver" were called "sound money" men. Both parties split on this issue. The Republican advocates of "free silver" organized a National Silver Party and endorsed Bryan. On the other hand, the "gold" Democrats met in convention and nominated John H. Palmer, of Illinois, for President. Bryan made the most extended campaign ever undertaken by the candidate of any party; but the Republicans won and McKinley was elected President. With him was elected Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, as Vice-President.¹⁰

Presidential
election of
1896

¹⁰ McKinley received 271 electoral votes and Bryan 176. Of the popular vote, in round numbers, McKinley received 7,100,000; Bryan, 6,500,000.

After his inauguration, President McKinley called Congress together in special session; and, in July, 1896, the Wilson-Gorman Act was replaced by the Dingley tariff, which raised many of the duties higher than they had been under the McKinley tariff bill of 1890.

The War with Spain; Cuba Freed; Acquisition of Porto Rico and the Philippines.—

During McKinley's administration special attention was attracted to the affairs of Cuba. Although, for many years, a state of rebellion against Spanish authority had existed in that Island, conditions had grown much worse under the cruel policies of the Spanish General Weyler, who finally concentrated

over 200,000 men, women, and children in camps guarded by soldiers. Those confined in these camps died in great numbers from insufficient food and shelter, or from disease. The property interests and the lives of United States citizens were frequently in danger, and there was also the danger of yellow fever being extended to American seaports, due to the lack of control of that disease in Cuba.

In June, 1897, the United States Government protested against a continuance of these conditions. Consequently, Spain promised reforms and some measure of self-government to the Cuban people; but

The Dingley
Tariff Bill,
1896



WILLIAM MCKINLEY

Born Niles, Ohio, January 29, 1843. Educated Allegheny College; teacher in public schools; served in War of Secession, rising from private to brevet-major at close of war; served in Congress; Governor of Ohio, 1892-'96; President, 1897-1901; shot by assassin, September 5, 1901, and died 14th of same month.

conditions practically remained as they were. On the 15th of February, 1898, the American battleship *Maine* was blown up in the harbor of Havana. More than 250 officers and sailors lost their lives, either by drowning or by the explosion itself, which seemed to be due to a submarine mine.

Blowing up
of the
"Maine,"
Feb. 15, 1898

Sentiment in the United States set in strongly against Spain; and, after fruitless negotiations between the two nations, the United States Government, on April 20, demanded the withdrawal of Spanish troops from Cuba. Spain refused to withdraw the troops, and both countries prepared for war. The President called for 125,000 volunteers, and this number was later increased to 200,000. If any one had entertained any possible doubt as to the loyalty of the entire country, this doubt was now removed. Union and Confederate veterans alike responded to the call of war, but this time they were fighting together in the same ranks against a common foe.

Declaration
of war

On May 1, Commodore Dewey, who had been in command of the Pacific squadron at Hong Kong at the time that war was declared, entered Manila harbor, in the Philippines, and attacked the Spanish ships in those waters. In a few hours every Spanish ship was sunk or burned. No serious injury was sustained by any of the American vessels. The Americans reported but two men wounded, while the Spanish losses amounted to several hundred. Subsequently a land force was sent to the Philippines under the com-

Dewey de-
feats Spanish
fleet at
Manila,
May 1, 1898

mand of General Merritt; and, on August 13, Manila fell into the hands of the Americans, who thereafter controlled the Philippine Islands, which had been held by Spain almost from the time of the first voyage around the world (p. 14).

In the meantime a Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera had entered the harbor of Santiago, Cuba.

Here Cervera was blockaded by an American fleet under Admiral Sampson. These events had taken place in May. In June an army of 16,000 men under Major-General Shafter

Operations
in Cuba



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Skyline of New York City from Governor's Island, the sight that meets the immigrant entering New York harbor.

set out from Tampa, Florida, to coöperate with the American fleet under Sampson.¹¹

¹¹ Lieutenant Hobson, of the United States Navy, endeavored to block the entrance to Santiago harbor and thus cut off the escape of the Spanish fleet. With a small group of volunteers, Hobson conducted the collier *Merrimac* into the channel of the harbor and, under heavy fire from the Spanish batteries, sank the vessel. The *Merrimac* had not, however, reached the desired spot for sinking before the steering gear of the vessel was shot away. The channel was not blocked, and Hobson and his men were captured.

The 1st of July El Caney and San Juan Hill, part of the defences of Santiago, were assaulted by the American troops, and, after two days of fighting, were carried by storm. Much of the success of these two engagements was due to the energy and experience of Major-Generals Henry W. Lawton, a Union veteran of the War of Secession, and Joseph Wheeler, a Confederate veteran. The regular infantry fought well, aided by the charge of volunteer troops, part of whom were known as the "Rough Riders," under



A modern express train in service between New York and Chicago. Compare this with the Charleston-Hamburg train on p. 262. The difference in the trains represents a difference of less than one hundred years.

command of Colonel Leonard Wood and Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt.

In spite of the American successes in storming the outer works of the Spanish fortifications, the troops could not exert their full strength, because they were not properly prepared for war. They suffered from insufficient supplies and from clothing ill adapted to the tropical heat. A great many died of disease due to unsanitary conditions, not only in the island of Cuba, but also in the military camps in the United States.

On July 3, while Admiral Sampson was absent and the American fleet was under the command of Commodore Schley, the Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera attempted to escape. Cervera, however, was vigorously attacked in a running fight extending for many miles, until every one of the Spanish warships was sunk or beached under the destructive and accurate fire of the American gunners. American superiority was shown by the fact that only one man was killed and one wounded, both of whom were on Schley's flagship, the *Brooklyn*. The Spanish loss was over 500 in killed and wounded.

Two weeks later Santiago surrendered to the American army; and, in a campaign which occupied part of July and August, General Miles secured possession of Porto Rico. On August 12, Spain was ready to yield, and by the terms of a treaty, signed December 10, she gave up Cuba, and ceded to the United States Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands. For the last-named islands the United States agreed to pay \$20,000,000. Thus Spanish rule in the western hemisphere, dating from 1492, was ended; and, by a strange coincidence, the last remaining vessel of Cervera's fleet was the *Cristobal Colon*, named after the man who discovered and claimed the New World in the name of the King and Queen of Spain.

The Republic
of Cuba,
1902

The United States continued the control of Cuba until the Cubans had drawn up a Constitution in accordance with conditions laid down

by Congress. The Republic of Cuba was proclaimed on the 20th of May, 1902.¹²

Recent Events.—The natives of the Philippine Islands, who had been in rebellion against Spanish authority, welcomed the American troops and worked with them. These natives expected that the United States would give them independence at the end of the war with Spain. When this was denied them, they rose in revolt. This revolt cost the United States heavily in money and lives; but it was finally brought under control after the capture, in 1901, of the Philippine leader, Aguinaldo.¹³

Philippine
revolt;
capture of
Aguinaldo

In 1899, John Hay, Secretary of State, made protests to the governments of Great Britain, Germany, and Russia against what seemed the plan of those governments to secure control of China. To these protests Great Britain alone returned a favorable reply; but, in the meantime, the Chinese were aroused by the threatened loss of their independence. In 1900 the

Attitude of
United
States
government
towards
China

¹² In 1906 disorder in Cuba, arising out of a disputed election, brought about intervention by the United States Government under President Roosevelt, who appointed Secretary of War William H. Taft as Military Governor of that island. Taft was succeeded by Governor Magoon. In 1909 order was restored, and the Cubans resumed control of their own affairs.

¹³ This capture was effected through the daring strategy of General Frederick Funston, who pretended to be one of a number of captives in the hands of hostile natives. As such, they were led within striking distance of the headquarters of Aguinaldo, whom the supposed captives seized.

During the Spanish war the Hawaiian Islands were annexed to the United States.

society known as the "Boxers" so stirred up the people against foreigners that even the embassies in Peking were attacked. The Chinese Government was unable to put down the rebellion, which was at last crushed by the armies of the allied powers, including the forces of the United States. An indemnity amounting to \$333,000,000 was demanded of China by the allied nations, of which \$24,000,000 was



RECLAIMING ARID LANDS IN THE WEST BY RESERVOIRS AND IRRIGATION

The Truckee-Carson Reclamation Project. Opening ceremony, June 17, 1905. In 1902, by Act of Congress, a "reclamation fund" was created from money received from the sale of public lands. The illustration presents one of the important results.

the share allotted to the United States. Our government thought this amount excessive and remitted more than half of the claim, or \$13,000,000.¹⁴

In 1900 the Republicans renominated President

¹⁴ Prior to and during this period a strong opposition arose to the immigration of Chinese laborers, especially on the Pacific coast. Race riots occurred in California, where attempts were successfully made to limit the civil privileges of the Chinese.

McKinley and chose Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, as their candidate for Vice-President. Bryan was again nominated by the Democrats, who declared that the relinquishment of United States control of the Philippines as colonial possessions was the para-

McKinley
re-elected;
cry of
"imperial-
ism," 1900



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THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Born New York, October 27, 1858. Graduate Harvard; member New York Legislature, 1882-'84; appointed to Civil Service Commission, 1889-'95; president Board of New York Police Commissioners, 1895-'97; served in Spanish War, and became Colonel of Rough Riders; Governor New York, 1899-1900; Vice-President with McKinley, succeeding to Presidency on September 5, 1901; elected President, 1904; nominee of Progressive Party in 1912.

mount issue. The annexation of the islands they called a policy of "imperialism" contrary to American principles and precedents. The Democrats received the support of many noted Republicans on this issue, but the Republicans were again victorious, and McKinley and Roosevelt received a large majority of the electoral vote.

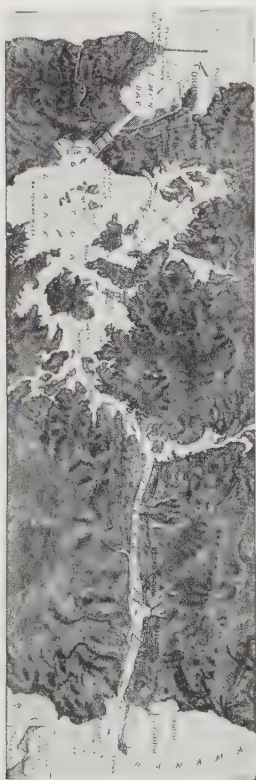
In the following year President McKinley, while on a visit to the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, was shot by an anarchist. He died September 14, and Theodore Roosevelt took the oath of office as President.

Assassina-
tion of
President
McKinley,
1901

The principal achievement associated with Roosevelt's first term was the acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone and the beginning of the canal that has since been cut through the Isthmus, uniting the Atlantic and the Pacific. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Great Britain, signed under President Tyler (p. 243), was set aside and a new

The Panama
Canal

agreement entered into with Great Britain. This new agreement gave the United States a free hand to construct and operate the proposed canal.



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PANAMA CANAL ZONE

A proposal was made to the United States of Colombia for the lease of a canal zone through the State of Panama, then a part of Colombia. Colombia, however, rejected the terms of the proposal. Panama then seceded from Colombia and set up a government of its own in November, 1903. This government President Roosevelt promptly recognized and protected from attack by the Colombian military forces. In the same month the United States acquired from the new republic the right to build a canal and the control of a canal zone. Construction was energetically begun in the following year, and the canal was first operated in 1914. The work was carried to completion under the direction of Colonels G. W. Goethals and W. C.

Gorgas. Colonel Goethals was the constructive head of the enterprise, and Colonel Gorgas made the achievement possible by the institution of a thorough system of sanitation. Under this system a region formerly fatal to the workers there was changed

into a healthful and prosperous section of Central America, not only for the thousands of men engaged in the undertaking but also for the native inhabitants.

The reform work of Roosevelt in New York and his efforts to extend the Civil Service had made him unpopular with certain powerful politicians of his own party; but there was a strong popular demand



COL. GEORGE W. GOETHALS,
CHIEF ENGINEER OF THE
PANAMA CANAL

Born Brooklyn, New York, June 29, 1858. Graduate West Point; chief of engineers in war with Spain; chief engineer Panama Canal, 1907-14; civil governor, Panama Canal Zone.

for him as a candidate to succeed himself. Accordingly, the Republican convention nominated Roosevelt and Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, for President and Vice-President. The Democrats nominated Alton B. Parker, of New York, and Henry G. Davis, of West Vir-

Roosevelt
elected
President,
1904

ginia. Roosevelt and Fairbanks were elected by very large majorities, both of the electoral and of the popular vote.

The building of railroads in the Southwest had accompanied

railroad construction in the Northwest. By 1883 railroad connection was made between Kansas City, in the Middle West, and Los Angeles by way of Santa Fé. This was the third great route over the Rocky Mountains, the others

Development
of the
Southwest

being the Union Pacific and the Northern Pacific. The development of this great southern trunk line and its various branches helped settlement in Texas, where thriving cities became either great inland in-

dustrial centres or important points of export. Oklahoma developed rapidly and was admitted into the Union in 1907. When New Mexico and Arizona entered the Union in 1912, the "family of the United States" became complete from ocean to ocean.

Upon the reconvening of Congress, subsequent to Roosevelt's election, the President instituted special



STEAM SHOVEL AT WORK ON THE PANAMA CANAL

The slides of earth into the canal after completion caused much alarm; but it is believed that American engineers have solved the problem and that the slipping of the earth will be prevented by a system of drainage.

investigations into the management of railroads and great business corporations. The government brought suit against railroad corporations, against what was known as the "Beef Trust," against the Standard Oil Company, and other great industrial organizations. Railroads were prohibited from giving special rates to favorite shippers; and, in 1906, Congress passed a law giving

Anti-trust
laws

the Interstate Commerce Commission power to regulate interstate railroad rates. The powers of the Commission were also extended to sleeping-car companies, express companies, and other bodies doing interstate business.

This unusual interference with the methods of large corporations aroused the opposition of powerful Republican leaders in Congress; and, during the greater part of Roosevelt's administration, the President and Congress were at odds. Consequently, many of his measures or policies were rejected. The President, however, enjoyed an unusually hearty support from the masses of the people; and in some cases, he carried out his ideas directly through the medium of those whom he appointed to office.

During Roosevelt's administration the government of Santo Domingo became unable to pay its debts to several of the European nations. These nations were considering, therefore, direct interference in the affairs of the island republic. Roosevelt, however, believed that this interference might, at some future time, embarrass the United States and endanger the Monroe Doctrine. He, therefore, brought about an arrangement by which the United States took charge of the revenues of Santo Domingo, with which it was planned to settle the debts of that republic. Although the United States Senate refused to endorse Roosevelt's plan, the President succeeded in carrying out the arrangement without the consent of the Senate, which subsequently adopted his plans in a modified form.

Santo
Domingo;
extension
of the
Monroe
Doctrine

In 1907 a serious financial panic affected the entire country. Many business firms failed or were severely crippled. New enterprises could not be instituted with success, and there was a great deal of suffering and unemployment. Congress endeavored to meet the difficulty by issuing emergency currency. It was believed that the panic itself would not have occurred if the supply of available money could have been quickly expanded to meet the requirements of trade (see p. 362).

In the past, as a rule, a period of business depression had seriously affected the party in power at the time when the depression occurred. Roosevelt's popularity with the American people, however, had not declined on this account. He had served nearly all of McKinley's second term; he had been elected by a large majority in 1904, and he had declared that he would not be a candidate to succeed himself. He indicated, however, that his preference for a successor to carry out his policies was William H. Taft, of Ohio. Taft and James S. Sherman, of New York, were nominated by the Republicans for President and Vice-President. The Republicans argued for a continuation of Roosevelt's policies, together with a reduction in the tariff rates passed under the McKinley administration. The Democrats, advocating tariff reform, together with the further regulation of trusts, nominated for the third time William Jennings Bryan for President and John W. Kern, of Indiana, for Vice-President. Taft and Sherman were elected by a majority almost as large as that which had

Election of
William H.
Taft, 1908

elected Roosevelt and Fairbanks four years previously.¹⁵

Upon his inauguration, in 1909, President Taft called Congress in extra session to carry out the Republican platform pledges for a reduction in the tariff rates. After considerable debate upon the issue, Congress finally revised the tariff and passed the Payne-Aldrich Bill. It was widely asserted, however, that the rates were raised rather than reduced, and that they favored certain manufacturers.

The Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill, 1909



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WILLIAM H. TAFT

Born Cincinnati, Ohio, September 15, 1857. Graduate Yale; judge Ohio Courts; United States solicitor-general, 1890-'92; judge United States Circuit Court, 1892-1900; governor Philippines, 1901-'04; appointed Secretary of War, 1904; provisional governor Cuba, 1906; President, 1909-'13; defeated for reelection, 1912; lecturer Yale University, 1913.

Two years later, in the Congressional elections of 1908, the Republicans, for the first time in many years, lost the House of Representatives to the Democrats.

President Taft advocated a tax on incomes, a measure which had been included in the Democratic platform. An income tax plan had been passed by the Democratic

Congress in Cleveland's term, but it had been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. It was now necessary, therefore, in order to secure an income tax, to pass an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Such an amendment was accordingly approved by

Income Tax; Amendment XVI to Constitution

¹⁵ The Socialist Party nominated Eugene V. Debs, of Illinois, for President. Debs, however, obtained no electoral votes.

Congress and ratified by three-fourths of the States, and proclaimed in force February 13, 1913. (See Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, Appendix C.)

Another amendment to the Constitution was passed by Congress in 1912. This amendment provided for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people instead of by the State legislatures. Three-fourths of the States approved of the amendment, and it was proclaimed in force May 31, 1913.

**Popular
election of
United
States
Senators;
Amendment
XVII**

President Taft strongly advocated reciprocity in trade with the Dominion of Canada. A treaty embodying his views was made and was approved by the United States Senate, but was subsequently rejected by Canada. President Taft endeavored also to extend the powers of the international court of arbitration established at The Hague. The Senate, however, did not endorse this proposal. It rejected, also, special arbitration treaties made with Great Britain and France.

Two other measures were passed by the Democratic House of Representatives and the Republican Senate during President Taft's administration.

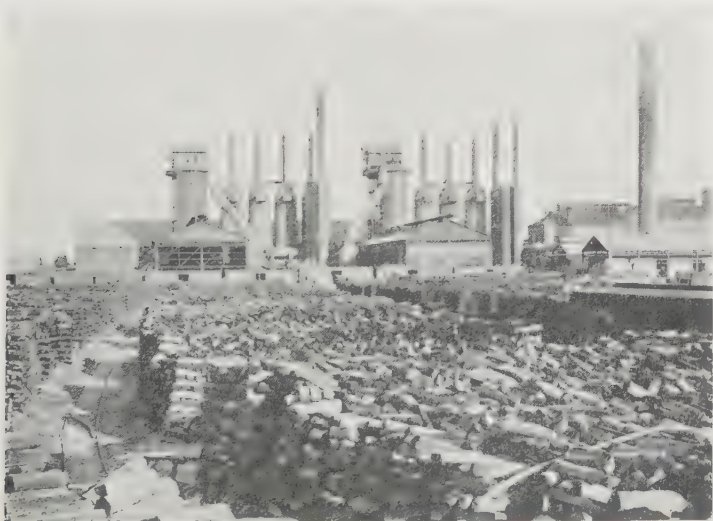
**Parcels Post;
postal
savings
bank**

These were the establishment of postal savings banks and the inauguration of a parcels post. The postal savings banks provided for the payment of interest on money deposited at United States post offices. Millions of dollars which had been, for the most part, hoarded by people of small means now began to find circulation. The

parcels post regulations became effective in 1913, and rapidly expanded under the direction of the Postmaster-General.

President Roosevelt had been strongly in favor of the conservation of national resources, and when it seemed that the policy of conservation was about to be overthrown by the claims to government lands which had been

Conservation
of national
resources



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Blast furnace and pig iron store-yard at Birmingham, Alabama. The pig iron is ready to go to the steel mill to be rolled into rails and all kinds of structural metal.

allowed by Secretary of the Interior Ballinger, Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the Federal Bureau of Forestry, protested. Pinchot was dismissed by President Taft, who vigorously defended Ballinger. This matter and a number of other differences

brought about a revolt in the Republican ranks; and those protesting against the attitude of the President and other Republican leaders became known as "insurgents," both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives.¹⁶

In 1912 the Republican National Convention met in Chicago. The delegates were divided in sentiment, some supporting President Taft and others ex-President Roosevelt. Rival delegations from several States claimed seats in the convention. For the most part, the Taft delegates were seated, and their candidate was accordingly nominated. A large number of Roosevelt delegates, alleging unfair treatment, withdrew from the convention. Some of those who withdrew, and other delegates appointed from the different States, met in Chicago in August and nominated Roosevelt and Hiram W. Johnson, of California, for President and Vice-President.

The Democrats held their convention at Baltimore and nominated Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, and Thomas R. Marshall, of Indiana. Their platform pledged the party to a reduction in the tariff duties, which they endeavored to make the principal issue of the campaign. The Republicans defended the Payne-Aldrich Bill and the policies of President Taft. The Progressive party advocated many social reforms,

¹⁶ Senator Robert M. La Follette, of Michigan, had inaugurated a revolt against the older Republican leaders during the administration of Roosevelt. Senator La Follette was for some time the leading "insurgent." Many of these "insurgents" united with the Progressive party in 1912.

and emphasized Roosevelt's policies with regard to the conservation of national resources. Wilson and Marshall received 435 electoral votes, Roosevelt and Johnson 88, and Taft and Sherman 8. The popular vote, however, was much closer. Wilson received a plurality of the votes, this vote being in round numbers 6,200,000 for Wilson and Marshall, 4,100,000 for Roosevelt and Johnson, and 3,400,000 for Taft and Sherman.



WOODROW WILSON

Born Staunton, Virginia, December 28, 1856. Graduate Princeton; graduate in law, University of Virginia; graduate (Ph D.), Johns Hopkins; professor and president, Princeton University; governor New Jersey, 1911-1913; elected President of United States, 1912.

Woodrow Wilson became President subsequent to a term as Governor of New Jersey. It so happened that he had been nominated in spite of the opposition of Democrats who had defeated the tariff revision proposed by Cleveland.

The
Underwood-
Simmons
Tariff Bill

President Wilson at once showed his determination to succeed where Cleveland had failed; and, against objections in his own party not unlike those encountered by Cleveland, he secured extensive reductions in the tariff rates.¹⁷

The Democratic party had pledged itself also to

¹⁷ Some of this opposition to the reduction of the tariff rates came from the lower South, which, for one hundred years, had bitterly opposed the protective tariff.

It is interesting to note that President Wilson delivered his first message to Congress in person, a custom that had been abandoned since the days of George Washington and John Adams. Jefferson had sent to Congress a written message, and subsequent Presidents followed his lead in that matter.

secure legislation reforming the currency system. Against further opposition in both parties, the President held Congress in extra session to carry out this second great pledge. The result of the deliberations of Congress on this matter was embodied in the Glass-Owen Currency Bill. This measure was designed to prevent financial panics, such as had occurred in 1893 and 1907, by making the supply of ready money more available for the needs of the people.

A third measure insisted upon by the President, in order to carry out the promises of the Democratic platform, was to secure legislation intended to strengthen the hands of the Federal Government in the prosecution of corporations guilty of illegally restraining competition in trade. Accordingly, the Clayton Anti-Trust Act was passed by Congress, and a Federal Trade Commission was established.¹⁸

Before the close of President Taft's administration, President Madero, of Mexico, had been seized and imprisoned by one of his officers, General Huerta. Shortly afterwards Madero was brutally murdered. Huerta was declared Presi-

**The Glass-
Owen
Currency
Bill**

**Clayton
Anti-trust
Act**

**Mexican
affairs**

¹⁸ Other legislation of a reform nature was passed under Wilson. A bill was passed regulating the importation and use of injurious or habit-forming drugs. (Pure food acts, for the regulation and sale of foodstuffs, had been urged and passed by Congress during Roosevelt's administrations.) Laws were passed with a view to the development of Alaska through the building of a railroad owned and operated by the government; while provisions were made for the leasing of coal lands in that great Territory.

dent, but Taft refused to recognize his government. Wilson also refused to recognize Huerta; and, when the former supporters of Madero rose in revolt, the President determined to pursue a waiting policy.

In the meantime the majority of Americans hav-



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ROLLING STRUCTURAL STEEL, PENCOYD IRON WORKS, PHILADELPHIA COUNTY

Rolling structural steel. The powerful rollers are cooled by sprays of water. In 1913 over 23,000,000 tons of steel products were produced in the United States..

ing property interests in Mexico urged recognition of Huerta as the man most likely to keep order in that country. President Wilson refused for two principal reasons: first, he maintained that Huerta had seized the government by violent means; and, second, that as the majority of the Mexican people had been held

in subjection under the rule of a few for hundreds of years, opposition to Huerta's usurpation of power would best help develop this majority, estimated by the President as "eighty per cent of the population."

In April, 1914, some United States sailors were arrested by Mexican officials in Tampico. They were soon released; but a salute to the American flag was demanded by Rear-Admiral Mayo. This was refused. Marines were landed at Vera Cruz and a conflict ensued in which nineteen of the marines were killed. The United States troops were victorious and held possession of the city for a period of six months.

All through this period when American interests in Mexico were suffering President Wilson was making extraordinary efforts to avoid armed intervention. He endeavored to assure the Mexican people of the good intentions of the United States towards all the southern republics by calling together representatives from Argentina, Brazil, and Chile to deliberate with commissioners from the United States on Mexican affairs. Disorder, however, continued in Mexico. Property and even the lives of American citizens and of other foreigners were sacrificed in the conflict between the followers of Huerta, on the one hand, and the "Constitutionalists," on the other.

Huerta was finally overthrown by the latter party under the leadership of Carranza, Villa, and others. These leaders, in turn, disagreed, and civil war broke out afresh. In the latter part of 1915, Carranza

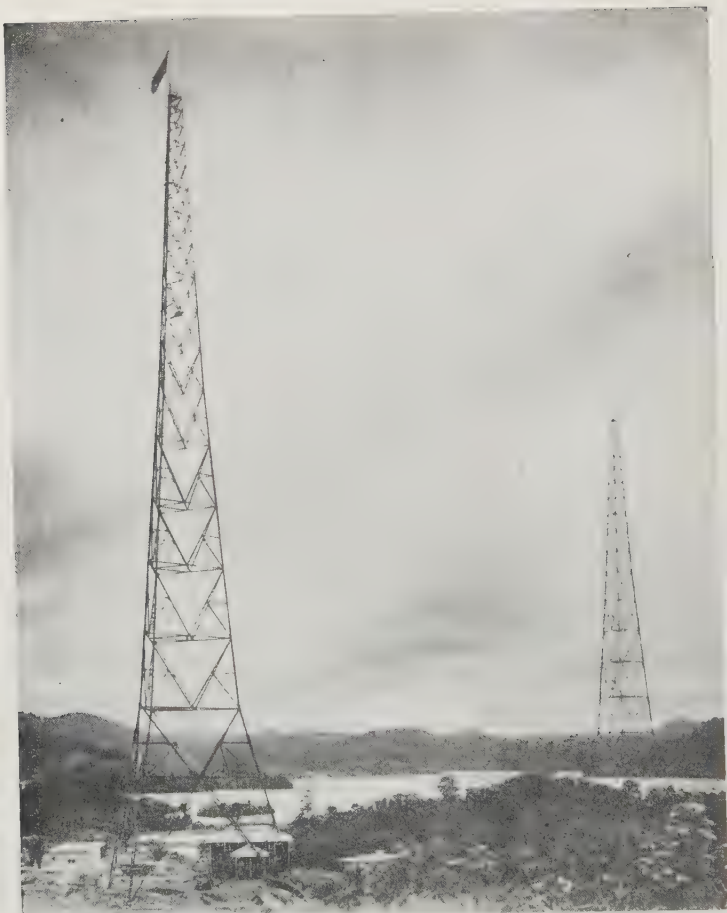
gained the upper hand and received recognition from the United States. Villa, however, continued in insurrection. In 1916 he crossed the border at Columbus, New Mexico, and attacked and killed United States citizens and soldiers. By arrangement with Carranza and the *de facto* Mexican Government, United States forces took up the pursuit of Villa and his band into Mexican territory.

In August, 1914, the greatest war of all history broke out in Europe. This conflict, like the conflict which overturned Europe in the days of Jefferson and Madison, involved and violated the rights of neutrals on the seas.

The
European
War

The Allied Powers, on the one hand, and the Central Powers, on the other, attempted to crush the commerce and trade of their opponents. United States shipping and mails were held up on the high seas by British warships; and American lives were lost through the torpedoing of passenger vessels by German submarines.

Of the offences against neutral rights, those charged to the Central Powers were the more serious, because of the loss of lives involved. Through several months of negotiations President Wilson strove to keep this country out of the war. Many able Americans, among them ex-President Roosevelt, expressed the view that the President had not been sufficiently decisive in his treatment of the submarine issue. Others, including his former Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, believed that he was taking too firm a stand for neutral rights. For the



Permission of The Philadelphia Commercial Museum

A high-power wireless station at Gamboa, Canal Zone. The towers at this station are 600 feet high and have regular communication with Arlington, Virginia, and with San Francisco, California.

latter reason, Mr. Bryan resigned from the Cabinet. On the other hand, ex-President Taft, although opposing President Wilson's domestic policies, urged

support of the President in his conduct of foreign relations.

On April 19, 1916, upon further news of the torpedoing of passenger ships without warning and the consequent loss of American life, the President felt compelled to send an ultimatum to Germany to the effect that her policy of torpedoing passenger vessels must be modified, if friendly relations between Germany and the United States were to continue.

Prior to these international troubles, President Wilson had expressed opposition to any marked increases in the military and naval forces of the United States. Later, the possibility of intervention in Mexico and in the countries bordering on the Caribbean Sea, together with the possibility of a failure to come to an agreement with some of the nations of Europe, caused the President to change his view. "Preparedness" for war became, therefore, a matter which the President urged in a special message to Congress in 1915.

The National
"Prepared-
ness" issue

Some of the Democratic leaders in both Houses, together with a number of the representatives and senators of both parties, were inclined to oppose the "preparedness" plans proposed by the President and his Secretary of War, Lindley M. Garrison. The President did not insist on any special plan, provided the increase in military effectiveness was secured. Congress refused to accept the plans of Garrison, and the latter resigned from the Cabinet. Thereupon the

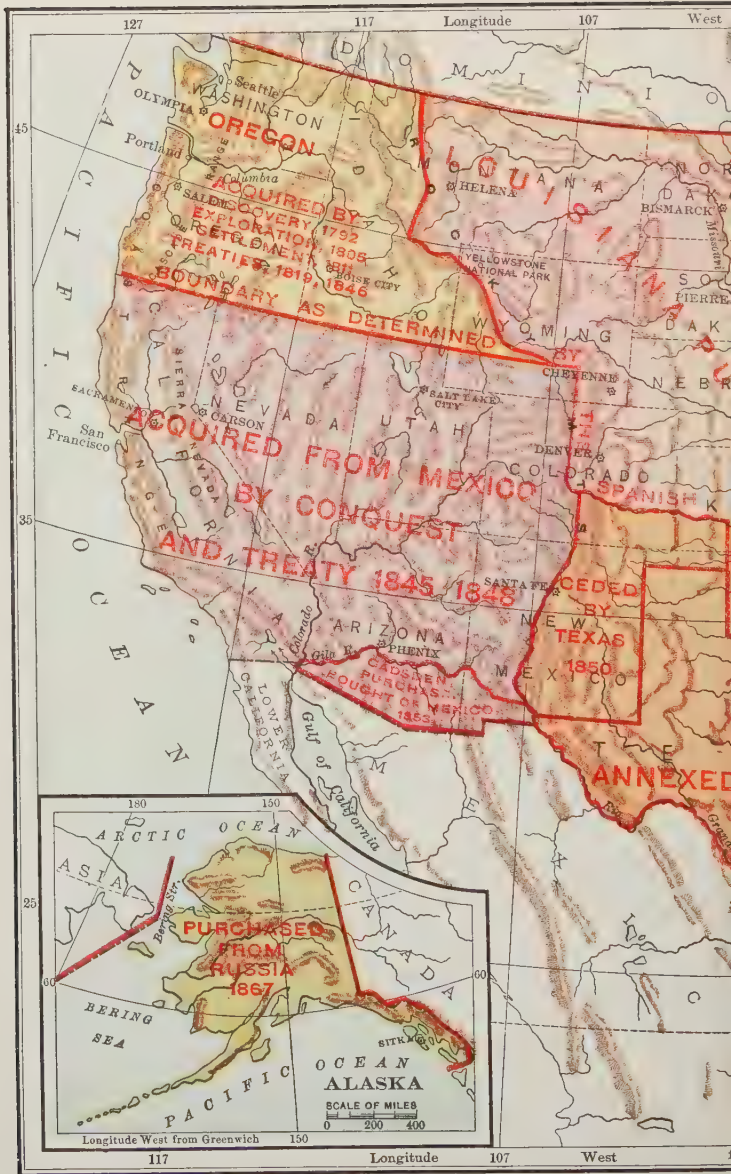
President appointed Newton D. Baker, of Ohio, as Garrison's successor.¹⁹

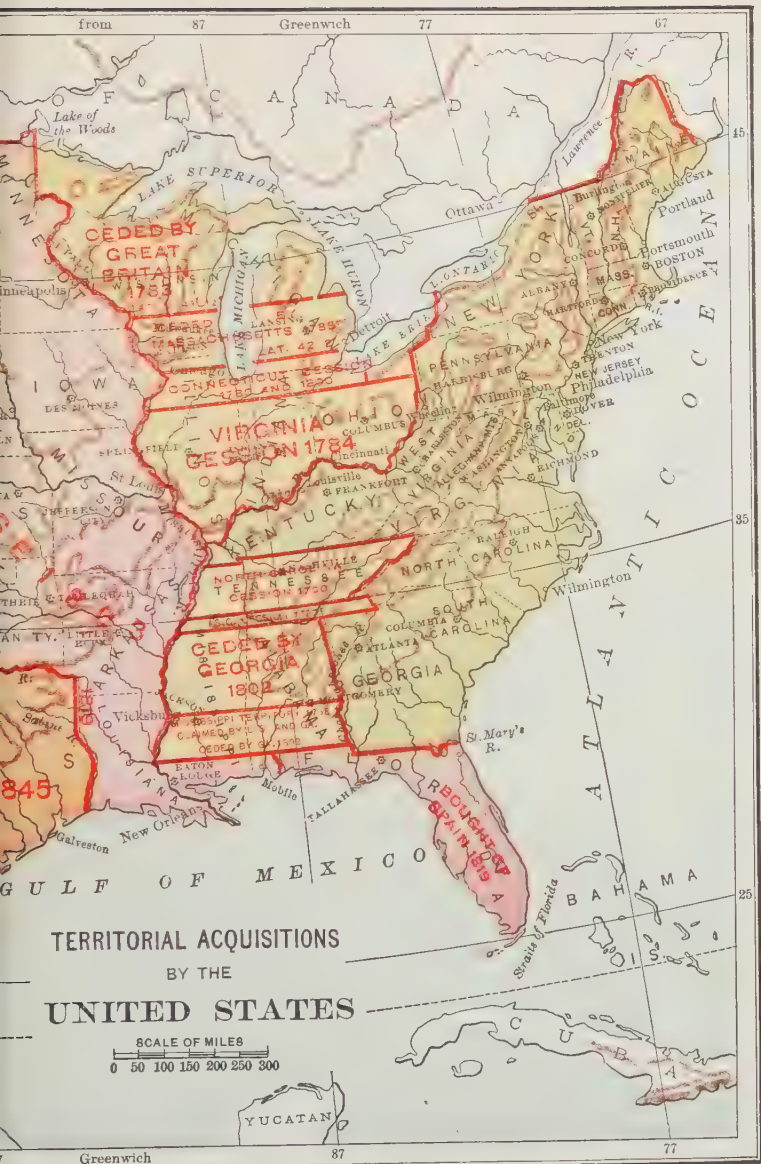
To the teacher: There are a great number of interesting questions pertaining to this modern period whose "merits and consequences have not yet passed into history," or with regard to which no final verdict has been reached. A few of these points may be brought up for discussion, and some of them are: the construction of the Panama Canal and the proposal to pay Colombia \$25,000,000 because of her loss of the State of Panama; the commission form of government; the initiative and referendum; woman suffrage; the development of Alaska; the extension of the parcels post; Federal aid in building a merchant marine; government ownership of railroads; pure food laws; the prohibition movement.

Some of these subjects are, perhaps, too difficult for extended reading or discussion; but brief oral explanations will convey some idea of their nature and scope. This is especially true of those subjects which have some measure of local interest.

In this volume it is impossible to give a complete list of reference works on the subject of United States history. It is extremely difficult to give a good "selection list." Consequently it has been deemed advisable, from time to time, in the body of the text, to suggest books for reference in reading. Later volumes are, as a rule, preferable to the older ones; although the work of Parkman, for instance, cannot be said to have been displaced. The ten-volume history of the United States by Wiley and Rines has especial value to the teacher because of the verbatim publication in its pages of a large number of historic documents, and its very full reference to source material. An encyclopædia is extremely useful, especially one which gives particular emphasis to the subject of American history and biography. Poole's Index to Reviews is a help towards the study of recent events through the medium of magazine articles.

¹⁹ Robert Lansing, of New York, had been appointed Secretary of State to succeed Secretary Bryan.





APPENDIX A

THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA

It is interesting and important to know something about the people living in North America before Europeans supplanted them in the possession of the continent.

For a great many years scholars have tried to account for the origin of the American Indian; but no one can yet say for a certainty whence he came or how long he was living on these shores before Columbus landed in the West Indies or Cabot in what is now the Dominion of Canada.

We learn something of the Indian and of his characteristics through reading the history of the white settlers from the time of Raleigh's colony at Roanoke Island to the uprising of the Sioux Indians, nearly three hundred years later.

During this time the advance of the whites forced the Indian back farther and farther: first into the forests of the Alleghanies; then back to the prairies of the Middle West; and, finally, from both the west eastward and the east westward to their last stand on the watershed of the Rocky Mountains.

The happiness and the very life of the Indian depended upon the wild or natural condition of the country. He did not adapt himself readily to the ways of the white man. When the forest was cut down and the land was brought under cultivation, and

when towns were built up, the Indian disappeared. Although, in many cases, his title or claim to the land was bought by the whites, the tribes resented steady encroachment of the latter upon the country they had hunted upon for many generations.

In a few instances only did a few Indians, or, perhaps, a tribe, endeavor to acquire the civilization



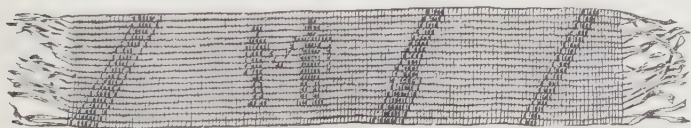
MAP SHOWING PRINCIPAL INDIAN STOCKS, WITH SOME OF THE EASTERN TRIBES WHICH WERE PROMINENTLY CONNECTED WITH EARLY COLONIAL HISTORY

of the white invader; and in those instances, they were not allowed to develop as they had begun. The whites were too eager to secure their land. This story of the white man's greed for the land of the Indian is not a pleasant chapter in our history. On the other hand, the majority of the Indians fought against the white invader in such fashion as to make it impossible for the white settlers to forgive or forget

them. The latter came to regard the Indians as all alike in being treacherous and cruel.

Yet, if the Indian tribes had not hated each other with what was sometimes a more terrible hatred than the hatred they felt for the whites, the latter would have had a far more difficult struggle to gain control of the soil of America. In their wars the Indian was often a faithful friend against a common foe; but he was always a cruel enemy. His warfare did not spare women and children; and the captives were usually reserved for the most frightful torture.

The North American Indian derived the name of



A WAMPUM PEACE BELT

Here is represented the Indian idea of a treaty as worked out by them in "wampum," a name given to certain shell-beads used as money.

"Red Man" from the bronze or copper color of his skin. His hair was straight and black, and he dressed in the rudest sort of clothing. He lived in the open, or in wigwams and "long houses." His weapons were largely of stone, and he used clubs, tomahawks, and bows and arrows. In war, Indians preferred to fight singly or in small groups; and they stole upon the enemy or else lay in wait for him. His sight and hearing were almost as keen as that of lower animals.

The Indian man was, first of all, a warrior. He disdained work and left that for the women. The latter, therefore, not only cooked and sewed, but they

planted, cultivated, and gathered the crops of corn, tobacco, beans, and other things.

Unlike the natives of Central and South America, the North American tribes had very little political organization which might be called a government. The accompanying map gives, in outline, the various "nations," as they were sometimes called. There were large divisions, such as the Algonquins and the Iroquois. These were composed of various tribes; and the tribes were, in turn, composed of clans. These were ruled by chiefs or sachems. The warriors owned their weapons and gloried in their trophies, such as the scalps of foes slain in battle; but other property was held in common.²⁰

²⁰ To the teacher: An excellent and extended account of all the American Indians and of their supposed origin may be found in Avery's "History of the United States." There are many stories of Indian life and adventure, of which the most popular are the novels of James Fenimore Cooper and William Gilmore Simms.

APPENDIX B

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for

any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren.

We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire.—JOSIAH BARTLETT, WILLIAM WHIPPLE, MATTHEW THORNTON.

Massachusetts Bay.—SAMUEL ADAMS, JOHN ADAMS, ROBERT TREAT PAINE, ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Rhode Island.—STEPHEN HOPKINS, WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut.—ROGER SHERMAN, SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, WILLIAM WILLIAMS, OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New York.—WILLIAM FLOYD, PHILIP LIVINGSTON, FRANCIS LEWIS, LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey.—RICHARD STOCKTON, JOHN WITHERSPOON, FRANCIS HOPKINSON, JOHN HART, ABRAHAM CLARK.

Pennsylvania.—ROBERT MORRIS, BENJAMIN RUSH, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, JOHN MORTON, GEORGE CLYMER, JAMES SMITH, GEORGE TAYLOR, JAMES WILSON, GEORGE ROSS.

Delaware.—CESAR RODNEY, GEORGE READ, THOMAS MCKEAN.

Maryland.—SAMUEL CHASE, WILLIAM PACA, THOMAS STONE, CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton.

Virginia.—GEORGE WYTHE, RICHARD HENRY LEE, THOMAS JEFFERSON, BENJAMIN HARRISON, THOMAS NELSON, FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE, CARTER BRAXTON.

North Carolina.—WILLIAM HOOPER, JOSEPH HEWES, JOHN PENN.

South Carolina.—EDWARD RUTLEDGE, THOMAS HEYWARD, THOMAS LYNCH, ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Georgia.—BUTTON GWINNETT, LYMAN HALL, GEORGE WALTON,

APPENDIX C

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

SECTION I. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such a manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose 3; Massachusetts, 8; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1; Connecticut, 5; New York, 6; New

Jersey, 4; Pennsylvania, 8; Delaware, 1; Maryland, 6; Virginia, 10; North Carolina, 5; South Carolina, 5, and Georgia, 3.¹

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

¹ See Article XIV, Amendments.

SECTION IV. 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday of December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V. 1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI. 1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate

in the House of Representatives: but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States: if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the United States: and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII. The Congress shall have power:

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive rights to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be im-

posed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION X. 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a

foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

SECTION I. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. [The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]¹

¹ This clause is superseded by Article XII, Amendments.

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II. 1. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other

officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and, in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

SECTION I. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III. 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION I. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II. 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III. 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within

the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION IV. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: *Provided*, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses of the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

JOHN LANGDON,
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

MASSACHUSETTS

NATHANIEL GORHAM,
RUFUS KING.

CONNECTICUT

WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON,
ROGER SHERMAN.

NEW YORK

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

NEW JERSEY

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
DAVID BREARLEY,
WILLIAM PATERSON,
JONATHAN DAYTON.

PENNSYLVANIA

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBERT MORRIS,
GEORGE CLYMER,
THOMAS FITZSIMONS,
JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON,
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

DELAWARE

GEORGE REED,
GUNNING BEDFORD,
JOHN DICKINSON,
RICHARD BASSETT,
JACOB BROOM.

MARYLAND

JAMES MCHENRY,
DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER,
DANIEL CARROLL.

VIRGINIA

JOHN BLAIR,
JAMES MADISON.

NORTH CAROLINA

WILLIAM BLOUNT,
RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT,
HUGH WILLIAMSON.

SOUTH CAROLINA

JOHN RUTLEDGE,
CHARLES C. PINCKNEY,
CHARLES PINCKNEY,
PIERCE BUTLER.

GEORGIA

WILLIAM FEW,
ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least,

shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for

the loss or emancipation of any slave: but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV

1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

[This Article replaces the provision in Article I, Section III, of the Constitution for the choosing of Senators by the Legislatures.]

RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution was ratified by the thirteen original States in the following order:

Delaware, December 7, 1787; Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787; New Jersey, December 18, 1787; Georgia, January 2, 1788; Connecticut, January 9, 1788; Massachusetts, February 6, 1788;

Maryland, April 28, 1788; South Carolina, May 23, 1788; New Hampshire, June 21, 1788; Virginia, June 25, 1788; New York, July 26, 1788; North Carolina, November 21, 1789; Rhode Island, May 29, 1790.

RATIFICATION OF THE AMENDMENTS

I to X inclusive were declared in force December 15, 1791; XI was declared in force January 8, 1798; XII was declared in force September 25, 1804; XIII was proclaimed December 18, 1865; XIV was proclaimed July 28, 1868; XV was proclaimed March 30, 1870; XVI was proclaimed February 25, 1913; XVII was proclaimed May 31, 1913.

APPENDIX D

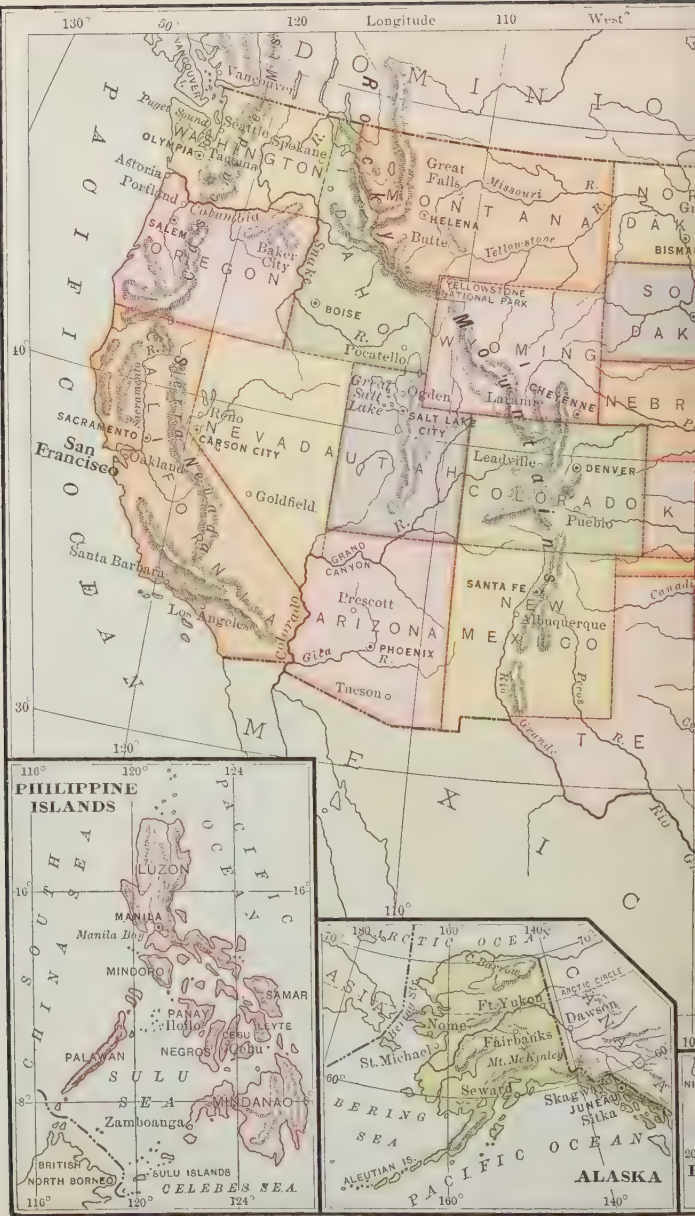
Table of the Presidents

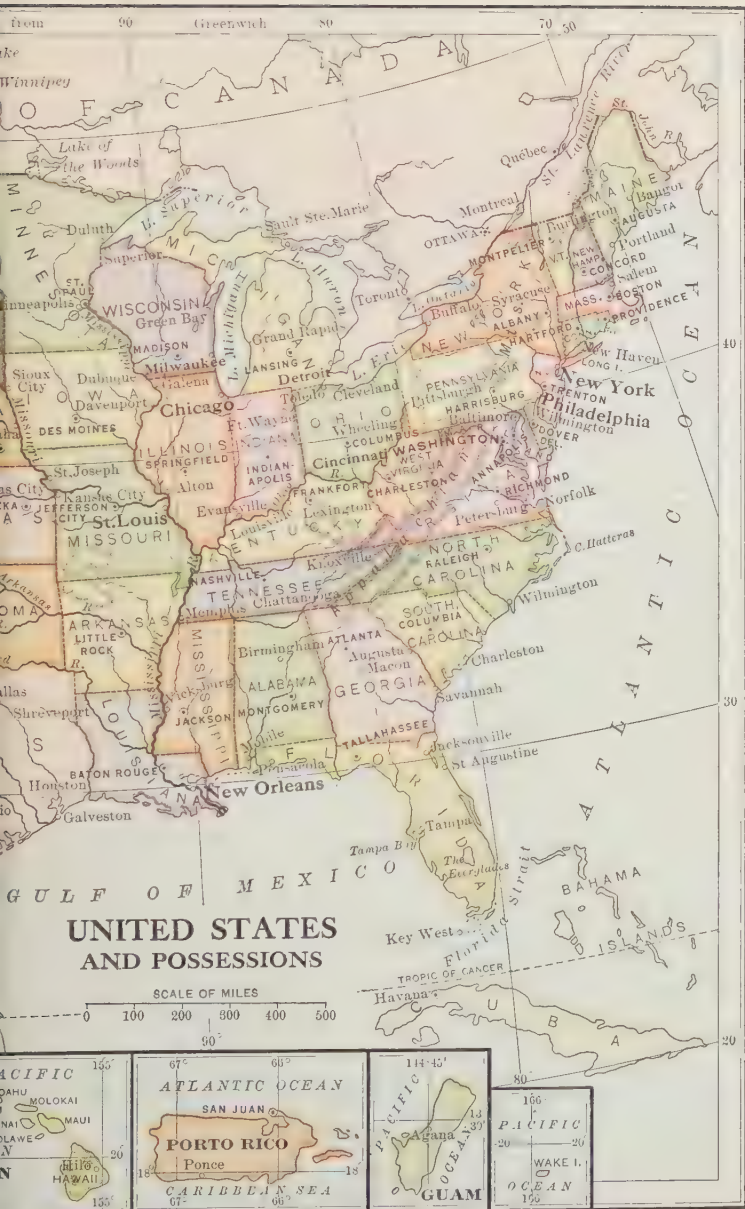
No.	NAME	STATE OF BIRTH	BORN	DIED	TERM OF OFFICE	VICE-PRESIDENT
1	George Washington.....	Virginia.....	1732	1799	Two terms, 1789-1797	John Adams.
2	John Adams.....	Massachusetts....	1735	1826	One term, 1797-1801	Thomas Jefferson.
3	Thomas Jefferson.....	Virginia.....	1743	1826	Two terms, 1801-1809	Aaron Burr.
4	James Madison.....	Virginia.....	1751	1836	Two terms, 1809-1817	George Clinton.
5	James Monroe.....	Virginia.....	1758	1831	Two terms, 1817-1825	Elbridge Gerry.
6	John Quincy Adams....	Massachusetts....	1767	1848	One term, 1825-1829	Daniel D. Tompkins.
7	Andrew Jackson.....	North Carolina.. }	1767	1845	Two terms, 1829-1837	John C. Calhoun.
8	Martin Van Buren.....	South Carolina.. }	1782	1862	One term, 1837-1841.	John C. Calhoun.
9	William H. Harrison....	New York.....	1773	1841	One term, 1841.	Martin Van Buren.
10	John Tyler.....	Virginia.....	1790	1862	3 years, 11 months, 1841-1845.	Richard M. Johnson.
11	James K. Polk.....	North Carolina.. }	1795	1849	One term, 1845-1849.	John Tyler.
12	Zachary Taylor.....	Virginia.....	1784	1850	1 year, 4 months, 1849-1850.	George M. Dallas.
13	Millard Fillmore.....	New York.....	1800	1874	2 years, 8 months, 1850-1853.	Millard Fillmore.
14	Franklin Pierce.....	New Hampshire.. }	1804	1869	One term, 1853-1857.	William R. King.
15	James Buchanan.....	Pennsylvania....	1791	1868	One term, 1857-1861.	John C. Breckinridge.
16	Abraham Lincoln.....	Kentucky.....	1809	1865	One term, 1 month, 1861-1865.	Hannibal Hamlin.
17	Andrew Johnson.....	North Carolina.. }	1808	1875	3 years, 11 months, 1865-1869.	Andrew Johnson.
18	Ulysses S. Grant.....	Ohio.....	1822	1885	Two terms, 1869-1877.	Schuyler Colfax.
19	Rutherford B. Hayes....	Ohio.....	1822	1893	One term, 1877-1881.	Henry Wilson.
20	James A. Garfield.....	Ohio.....	1831	1881	6 months, 15 days, 1881.	William A. Wheeler.
21	Chester A. Arthur.....	Vermont.....	1830	1886	3 yrs., 5 mos., 15 days, 1881-1885.	Chester A. Arthur.
22	Grover Cleveland.....	New Jersey.....	1837	1908	One term, 1885-1889.	Thomas A. Hendricks.
23	Benjamin Harrison.....	Ohio.....	1833	1901	One term, 1889-1893.	Levi P. Morton.
24	Grover Cleveland.....	New Jersey.....	1837	1908	One term, 1893-1897.	Adlai E. Stevenson.
25	William McKinley.....	Ohio.....	1843	1901	One term, 6 mos., 10 d., 1897-1901	Garret A. Hobart.
26	Theodore Roosevelt.....	New York.....	1858	1909	1 term, 3y., 5m., 20d., 1901-1909.	Theodore Roosevelt.
27	William H. Taft.....	Ohio.....	1857	1930	1909-1913	Charles W. Fairbanks.
28	Woodrow Wilson.....	Virginia.....	1856	1913	1913	James S. Sherman.
						Thomas R. Marshall.

APPENDIX E

Table of States and Territories

No.	NAME	ORIGIN OF NAME	DATE OF AD- MISSION	SQUARE MILES	POPULATION
1	Delaware.....	In honor of Lord Delaware....	1787	2,050	202,322
2	Pennsylvania.....	Penn's woodland.....	1787	45,215	7,665,111
3	New Jersey.....	From the Island of Jersey.....	1787	7,815	2,537,167
4	Georgia.....	In honor of George II.....	1788	59,475	2,609,121
5	Connecticut.....	Indian—long river.....	1788	4,990	1,114,756
6	Massachusetts.....	Indian—at the great hill.....	1788	8,315	3,366,416
7	Maryland.....	In honor of Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I.....	1788	12,210	1,295,346
8	South Carolina.....	In honor of Charles II.....	1788	30,570	1,515,400
9	New Hampshire.....	From Hampshire, England.....	1788	9,305	430,572
10	Virginia.....	In honor of Queen Elizabeth.....	1788	42,450	2,061,612
11	New York.....	In honor of the Duke of York.....	1788	49,170	9,113,279
12	North Carolina.....	In honor of Charles II.....	1789	52,250	2,206,287
13	Rhode Island.....	Dutch—Rood (Red) Island, or, from the Isle of Rhodes.....	1790	1,250	542,610
14	Vermont.....	French—green mountains.....	1791	9,565	355,956
15	Kentucky.....	Indian—probably hunting land.....	1792	40,400	2,289,905
16	Tennessee.....	Indian—crooked river.....	1796	42,050	2,184,789
17	Ohio.....	Indian—beautiful river.....	1803	41,060	4,767,121
18	Louisiana.....	In honor of Louis XIV.....	1812	48,720	1,656,388
19	Indiana.....	From the word "Indian".....	1816	36,350	2,700,876
20	Mississippi.....	Indian—great river.....	1817	46,810	1,797,114
21	Illinois.....	From name of river and Indian confederacy.....	1818	56,650	5,638,591
22	Alabama.....	Indian—here we rest.....	1819	52,250	2,138,093
23	Maine.....	The main land.....	1820	33,040	742,371
24	Missouri.....	Indian—muddy river.....	1821	69,415	3,293,335
25	Arkansas.....	Indian—after its main river.....	1836	53,850	1,574,449
26	Michigan.....	Indian—great sea.....	1837	58,915	2,810,173
27	Florida.....	Spanish—flowery.....	1845	58,680	751,139
28	Texas.....	Indian—name of a tribe or confederacy.....	1845	265,780	3,896,542
29	Iowa.....	Indian—meaning doubtful.....	1846	56,025	2,224,771
30	Wisconsin.....	Indian—probably gathering waters.....	1848	56,040	2,333,860
31	California.....	Spanish—from an old romance.....	1850	158,360	2,377,549
32	Minnesota.....	Indian—cloudy water.....	1858	83,365	2,075,708
33	Oregon.....	Meaning doubtful.....	1859	96,080	672,765
34	Kansas.....	Indian—meaning doubtful.....	1861	82,080	1,690,949
35	West Virginia.....	From Virginia.....	1863	24,780	1,221,119
36	Nevada.....	Spanish—snowy mountains.....	1864	110,700	81,875
37	Nebraska.....	Indian—shallow water.....	1867	77,510	1,192,214
38	Colorado.....	Spanish—red or ruddy.....	1876	103,925	799,024
39	North Dakota.....	Indian—the allies.....	1889	70,795	577,056
40	South Dakota.....	Indian—the allies.....	1889	77,650	583,888
41	Montana.....	Spanish— <i>montana</i> , a mountain.....	1889	146,080	376,053
42	Washington.....	In honor of Washington.....	1889	69,180	1,141,990
43	Idaho.....	Indian—gem of the mountains.....	1890	84,800	325,594
44	Wyoming.....	Indian—broad plains.....	1890	97,890	145,965
45	Utah.....	Indian—mountain home.....	1896	84,970	373,351
46	Oklahoma.....	Indian—fine country.....	1907	70,430	1,657,155
47	New Mexico.....	From Mexico.....	1912	122,580	327,301
48	Arizona.....	Meaning doubtful.....	1912	113,020	204,354
..	District of Columbia.....	From Columbus.....	..	70	331,069
..	Alaska.....	Indian—great, or main land.....	..	577,390	64,356
..	Hawaii.....	Given by the natives.....	..	6,740	191,909





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